2: Stirling--IX

(1930-31) 1938

Jivaro

116 177

"Since the year 1540 the Jivaro Indians have been more or less constantly in contact with European culture. During these four centuries a great deal has been written about them, unfortunately most of it during the present century, and possibly the present contribution will but add to the confusion of what might seem an already redundant literature. The many accounts of travelers, soldiers, settlers, missionaries, and scientists contain a great deal that is of ethnological value, mingled with much that is repetitious, much that is garbled, and much that is speculative. With the exception of Hamy and Rivet, most writers have neglected utilizing the early Spanish accounts which are of considerable value for comparative purposes, although rarely as detailed as we would like."

2: Stirling--IX [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

The chief value of the present work is the assembling and presentation for the first time in English of most of the known early source material. This, together with the illustrations, constitutes the principal justification for the publication of the present volume. The translations are the work of Marion Stirling. They have been made as literal as possible in order to preserve the style of the original writers, which in many cases is cumbersome and involved. Frequently entire accounts are written without punctuation. When it has seemed necessary a certain amount of punctuation has been supplied for the sake of clarity.

The collection of source material has been greatly facilitated by the nineteenth century researches of such scholars as Jiménez de la Espada, Gonzáles Suárez, Francisco Maria Compte, Fernando de Montesinos, and Luis Torres de Mendoza."

2: Stirling--IX[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

"Among modern ethnographers the works of Rivet and Karsten are outstanding. The latter has recently compiled in a single volume the bulk of the material contained in his previous scattered publications in various languages.(1) Rivet's report (2) suffers from the fact that he did not have the opportunity of doing field work among the Jivaro and as a result could not check the errors of his authorities. It seems to the writer that Karsten's report loses some of its value through the application of too much anthropological theory in such fashion that it is often difficult to detect which information has been obtained directly from the Indians and which is a result of the author's interpretations."

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"1. Karsten, 1935
2. Rivet, 1907."

2: Stirling--X (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 122

"The ethnographic material for the present account was secured in the field in 1930-31, principally from Jivaros on the Paute, the Upano, the Yaupe, the Chinganasa, and the Alto Marañon Rivers, when the writer was a member of the Latin-American expedition, to which he is indebted for the opportunity of making his field studies. This area constitutes a fair cross section through the Santiago drainage, the heart of the Jivaro country. In his field work the writer was fortunate in having the services of an unusually intelligent and able interpreter, Santiago Baca of Mendez.

Much assistance in the field was also rendered by the late John Verrill, and especially by Mr. William Larner. The writer would also like at this time to acknowledge courtesies rendered by Ecuadorian officials, particularly Lt. Durán of Mendez. He was also received most courteously by Mons. Comin of the Salesian mission at Mendez and by Mr. Charles C. Eamigh of the gospel mission at Chupianza. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Joseph Sinclair, who kindly put his extensive bibliographic material at the disposal of the writer, and to Mr. Wolfgang von Hagen for supplying the writer with maps and other information. Dodd, Mead & Co., owners of the copyright, have generously permitted the quotation of several interesting passages from Head Hunters of the Amazon by F. W. Up de Graff."

2: Stirling--X-XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 121

"The following account makes no pretense of being a complete description of the ethnology of the Jivaros. An effort has been made to present a maximum of factual material with as little theoretical speculation as possible. The author has tried to indicate the position of the Jivaros in the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Rather than attempt broad comparisons, the writer has selected a few characteristic topical subjects, such as supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting, in an effort to demonstrate that these practices instead of being peculiar to the Jivaros are traits which were formerly typical of a wide area in the northern Andes. The method of appraoch has been primarily historical; this chronological study bringing out several interesting [XI] points, such as population changes and the apparent post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun."

2: Stirling--XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 172

"The high civilizations of the Andes at the beginning of the sixteenth century differed from the rather primitive culture of the Jivaros, mainly in superficial aspects. A study of the Jivaros today and of the ancient tribes of the western Andes, as viewed in historical perspective, seems to indicate that they merely represent different degrees of development from a common cultural background. Archeological sites examined by the writer in the valleys of the Upano and Namangosa Rivers demonstrate that the material culture of the Jivaros in pre-Columbian times resembled that of the ancient cultures of the highlands much more closely than do present-day survivals. Systematic archeological work in this area will do a great deal to further establish this relationship."

2: Stirling--1 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 131

"The territory of the Jivaros can be encompassed between latitudes 2° S. and 5° S., and longitudes 76° and 79°. Topographically this includes part of the headwaters of the Tigre, the lower headwaters of the Pastaza, the Morona excepting for its lower reaches, all of the drainage of the Santiago, including the Upano, the Paute and the Zamora, and the lower reaches of the Alto Marañon from the Nieve River to and including the Apaga."

2: Stirling--l [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 133

"In general the country is mountainous, as it includes the lower slopes of the eastern Andes to the point where they fall away into the vast Amazonian plain. Parts of this great stretch of territory are comparatively level, particularly in the lower valley of the Sangiago. Lying as it does just below the Equator, the region is one of heavy rainfall and the entire country is cloaked with a dense tropical jungle. For the most part the climate is healthful and, considering the latitude, the temperatures are fairly cool. Travel is difficult and disagreeable during the rainy season, which extends from March until October. Travel overland is by means of rough foot trails, while the rivers, which in large part are navigable by canoes, form the principal avenues of travel. Conditions in this respect have apparently changed but little since the first of the Conquistadores set foot in Jivaro country."

2: Stirling--1 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 135

"To the misfortune of the Indians, the headwater streams of the Santiago are auriferous This probably first attracted the Incas to their territory and later the Conquistadores, who were not long in locating the source of the precious metal which they found in such abundance in possession of the natives of the highlands of ancient Peru."

2: Stirling--1-2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 101

"The greatest confusion exists regarding the naming of various Jivaro subdivisions. They refer to themselves as 'Shuara', thus differentiating themselves from other tribes. As is later stated in [2] more detail, they live in rather widely separated household groups with very little consciousness of any sort of political unity. Such groupings as exist are continually shifting location, separating, amalgamating, or being exterminated. For centuries travelers by the score have attached different appellations to such groups. Frequently they have been designated by the name of the river on which they lived, but the rivers have had as many different names applied to them as have the Indian groups. Thus we find such general names as Pastazas, Moronas, Santiagos, etc., while lesser groups are frequently called by the names of the affluent streams on which they reside. Thus the Jivaros living on the four principal tributaries of the Santiago are called the Upanos, the Pauteños, the Gualaquizas, and the Zamoras. These are further subdivided into the names of the lesser tributaries. Obviously such designations have no ethnologic significance."

2: Stirling--2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambizas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west tc the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

2: Stirling--2-3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 181

"There is no doubt that the Jivaros, from a time dating shortly after the conquest, have contrasted noticeably with their neighbors, a contrast which is even more evident at the present time. Their fine physical appearance, vivacity, energy, and love of freedom have been commented upon by all travelers who have encountered them.

Benavente, in 1540, irked because of his inability to break the spirit of some Jivaro captives, called them the most arrogant of all of the tribes in the Indies.

In 1815 Prieto gave the following description:

The Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel infidels in this part of America, although they are not such stupid barbarians as the various other nations in [3]the mountains bordering on the province of Mainas. They are extremely lively, thoroughly intelligent; they learn easily when one teaches them and even from observation. In order to get satisfaction from the person with whom they are dealing, they are exceedingly amiable and obsequious, giving away, for this reason, anything that they possess. They do not lie among themselves, and much less steal, and if at any time this happens (which is very rare), the thief is thought to be an extremely wicked person, is hated by all and covered with everlasting disgrace. Neither are the Jivaros drunkards, and they look with scorn upon the inebriated; a very unusual trait among the Indians of America.(1)

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"1. Prieto, in Compte, pp. 64-65."

2: Stirling--2-3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -2
116, 181

Even today the intelligence and independent air of the Jivaro, combined with a fine physique produced by an active out-of-doors existence, creates a most favorable impression on the visitor."

2: Stirling--3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177

"When first visited by Juan de Salinas in the middle of the sixteenth century they apparently showed no inclination to include the Spaniards in their war pattern. The attempt to interfere with their liberty and to force strange customs and beliefs upon them soon changed this situation."

2: Stirling--3 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 181

"Typical of the statements of modern writers is that of Rivet, who said at the beginning of the present century:

> The Jivaro does not have the submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, of the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is quick, the look steady, the physiognomy mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animate, their speech easy and assured. * * *So one finds him in the forests in the midst of virgin nature whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage. (2)

This same 'virgin nature', friendly to those who have adapted themselves to her embrace, so hostile to those who have not, has enabled these children of the jungle to maintain the spirit of independence against the conquering might of the Inca, the greed of the gold-hungry conquistador, and the passionate zeal of the missionary.

The alliance between nature and the Jivaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory."

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"2. Rivet, 1907, p. 361."

2: Stirling--3-4 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 175

"The Jivaros first appear in history when the Inca, Túpac-Yupanqui, undertook the conquest of the realm of Quito about the middle [4] of the fifteenth century. The Peruvian conqueror undertook the conquest of the Cañaris, who lived in the interandine valley region, which corresponds to the Province of Azuay. The chroniclers say that the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas. Inasmuch as these two tribes were hereditary enemies, it would appear that this alliance was a temporary measure adopted for the purpose of repulsing the common enemy. The Inca succeeded, however, in conquering the Cañaris but was unable to penetrate beyond them. (3)

Huayna-Cápac, continuing the conquests of his father, again unsuccessfully attempted to subdue the Jivaros. His campaign was made difficult by the unfamiliar jungle country, combined with a type of climate to which his men were unaccustomed. Being continually harassed by the natives, he was finally forced to withdraw hurriedly from the territory of Bracamoros, which constitutes the basin of the Chinchipe River. Although completely driven out of their territory, he covered up his humiliation by declaring the Jivaros his subjects. (4)

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"3. González Suárez, 1878, p.8, and Montesinos, 1882, ch.xxiii and xxvi.
4. González Suárez, 1890-1903, vol, I, p.54."

2: Stirling--3-4 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Not for long were the Jivaros left in peace to continue their customary fighting among themselves. The conquest of the Incas by the Spaniards simply meant a new adversary for the Jivaros.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were defeated, Don Pedro de La Gasca, in order to keep his soldiers from being idle, divided eastern Ecuador into four districts, whose conquest was entrusted to four of his captains. The first of these was the province of Quijoa, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela. This province was bounded on the north by the provinces of Mocoa and Sucumbíos and was 200 leagues in length from east to west and 20 leagues wide from north to south. The second province was that of Macas, extending from the jungles of Gualaquiza to the Pastaza River, which was then known as the Tunguragua. The third was the province of Yaguarzongo, constituting the drainage basin of the Zamora River. The fourth was the province of Bracamoros, which included the drainage basin of the Chinchipe River. The last three of these provinces, excepting for the extreme southern part of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the territory of the Jivaro Indians. The conquest of Bracamoros was given by Gasca to Capt. Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarzongo to Capt. Alonso de Mercadillo, and that of Macas to Capt. Hernando de Benavente.

Palomino's expedition brought him to the valley of the Chinchipe, which is outside of the territory of the Jivaros. On this expedition he established the city of Jaen."

"THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the Callao: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

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"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviii.
6. Gonzáles Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

2: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

## ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MACAS BY CAPT. HERNANDO DE BENAVENTE[7]

My Eminent Sirs: * * * I entered the province of Suna (or Zuña), which was the beginning of the exploration and was a land of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Paira, which was eight or ten leagues farther on, in which there were about one hundred Indian houses, which at the time I was there had been evacuated. I tell Your Highness truthfully that we were almost dead from hunger because there was not enough food, since the country consisted entirely of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Moy (or Emoy) and Zamagolli (or Zumagalli), where there are but few Indians, but these gave us what we needed to eat. From there I sent a detachment to the province of Chapico, which they told me would be twenty leagues beyond, in order to see if there were Indians there and if it were good land. This province, I understood, is a land of great mountains and the Indians there go about naked. Those who had been there told me they saw two thousand Indians. There were one or more houses to each quarter of a league and in other places they were a half league apart and so it was all over the district. The food of the Indians consisted solely of fish, and seeds which they raised. There was plenty of food that they planted, such as maize among other things. The soldiers reported that they had two skirmishes. After seeing this province, they returned to me and there told me of another province six leagues

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" 7. Manuscript dated Tomebamba, Mar. 25, 1550."

2: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175

farther on that was called Guallapa. The chief of this province with some Indians came to me peaceably and I received them as I was obliged to do and as Your Highness [6] commanded me. I traveled towards the province and, as I went, saw that likewise it was mountainous as were all the others that I had visited. The chief of that district was with me for eight days, giving us things to eat and describing what lay beyond, and at the end of that time I learned one night how he had elevated himself and his tribe and I tried to learn how many Indians were under him in that territory and found that he had about eight hundred men living in houses separated one from the other. Having seen this province, I started on the way to a district that the told me was called Xibaro, which was twenty leagues from Guallapa [sic], and in which, because of what the Indians had told me, I intended to establish a town; and before a day's journey was completed, I came to a very large river which they told me was that of Tomebamba (Paute) and that of Minas de Santa Bárbola, which I could not have crossed but for boats that we made there, and we crossed it without anyone being injured. Up to this point there had been nothing but very large mountains. And so, after crossing the river, I continued the march and two leagues from the place I found an Indian buhio, (8) in which some Indians were taken whose language and manner of speech was like that of the Malacatos, who were near the

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"8. An Arawak work applied to the native community house. These establishments are now generally referred to as 'Jivarías.'"

2: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 175

Paltas, because some Indians who were with me understood them. They told me that the land was called Xibaro, (9) and in that buhio those Indians told me that further on there were other buhios; and so I continued on the way; travelling by means of trails that were very ill-defined, I tell Your Highness truthfully that I frequently stopped to rest; thus moving along, I came upon other buhios which were more than a league from one another until arriving at other buhios, I realized correctly that we were where I wished to be and consequently did not stop. Continuing on, I encountered about fifty or sixty Indians, who, hearing me, fled into the mountains so that the dogs that I had with me were not able to capture any. I saw that they were naked. And still I marched and discovered smoke which was from their buhios that they had burned, and so it was in all that region, for they did nothing but burn their buhios and flee. Finally I arrived at the foot of a large rock covered with woods and thickets and from there I dispatched certain soldiers who discovered a trail on which they chanced upon some naked Indians, each with a lance and a round shield. Of these, they were able to capture only a man and a woman whom they brought to me, and being brought before me, I asked the man to tell me about the country and to explain where his chief was, to which he answered, why would I like to know? and that his chief was very powerful, and that if he captured me and the others he would probably kill us and drink with our heads and would probably sprinkle the roads with our bones; in

"9. Von Hagen told the writer that 'varu' is a common word ending in Palta, and suggested its combination with the Jivaro word 'ji' or 'jea' meaning 'fire people.'"

such manner that he did not desire to admit the truth of anything to me. I tell Your Highness truthfully that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have been exploring in the conquest of the Indies. Having seen that he did not wish to divulge anything nor to answer truthfully what I asked him, I attempted to see if he might talk because of fear and was as successful as before; and hoping that some Indians would come to where I was waiting, I spent eight days near that big rock, during which it did not stop raining one hour all day; and I swear to Your Highness that the horses, as though crazy, leaped around and, running through the camp and wallowing in the mire, eluded us, and because of the distemper which affected them in the [7] hoofs and feet, it was not advisable to hobble them; and everyone was breeding within himself the same sort of worms and any meat that we were able to obtain became filled with maggots. Finally, I tell you that it was the worst land that I have seen in all the days of my life, either in Spain or in all parts of the Indies in which I have travelled. Thus having seen how bad the land was and that no Indians were apparent, I started to march again and moved along another twenty leagues, where I found a country in which everything was rainy and wet. Farther on, I found a second river very much larger than that I had crossed; both sides of the river formed a rocky gorge so that to look at the river from the top frightened one because of the depth from above. Having looked for a place for the horses to cross a league above and below on the river, it was found impossible. While there, I saw on the other side of the river about fifty Indians, all with their lances and slings and dressed in camisetas and mantas, and then they shot with bows and arrows which did not succeed in crossing from the other side. Having found out that the horses were not able to cross, those who had crossed the river brought to me the good news that crossing without horses, there would not be any place that we could go on foot and that we would not get anything accomplished and that it would result in our destruction, so I agreed with all my company that we turn back and our entrada should be by way of Cuyes or Zangorima, or some other way more convenient to the service of God and Your Excellency. It was thus decided by everyone and we withdrew with the intention of doing this.

I tell Your Highness that, according to what we were able to see, there are not one thousand Indians in all that land and province of Xivaro, and it consists of the wildest mountain land that I have seen and is very rough mountainous country, and the people of this province are all naked and very independent, according to the way it appeared to us. From the river of which I have just been speaking, we saw a range of mountains and through a gap in these mountains we saw a plain, and this I did think is all the news that we obtained because that region did not appear to be mountainous but rather savannahs. And so we returned to Guallapa, from which place we had departed. (10)

Having returned to Guallapa, Benavente discovered that the peaceful Indians he had left there had risen in rebellion against the soldiers, and his arrival had been barely in

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"10. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. xxix-xxxiv."

time to settle this trouble. He speaks of the land beyond the gorge, which had forced him to turn back, and is very anxious that the King give him a commission to enter this country by the route that he had previously suggested. The chiefs of Tomebamba described this territory in such glowing terms as to make Benavente anxious to establish a town in the region, but as he says:

> I am so often disappointed by the stories of these Indians that I no longer give credit to any more than what I am able to see with my own eyes.

Benavente took 150 men with him on the expedition above described and explains that because of the bad nature of the land and the hostility of the Jivaro Indians these troops came out in very bad shape. Many of the Indians that he brought with him died as a result of the hardships, and 30 of his men deserted because of [8] the fact that the expedition had not succeeded, and Benavente had nothing with which to pay them excepting future promises; although he said:

> I give my word to Your Highness that I have given to the soldiers even the shirts of my clothing in order that they might enter this land again with me, whom Your Highness should thank.

Toward the end of the letter, Benavente gives information which would seem to clear up the confusion concerning the conquests of Mercadillo and himself. He says:

> The rest that I have to tell Your Highness is that the conquest which Your Highness has

given to Captain Mercadillo and to me is all one thing and one piece of information, for in order that we might serve you better and do as you command, we agreed to join his people with mine and we made one company, because he had too few people to explore such a very large section of country, and I likewise had too few; and for these reasons we did this and accomplished what I am telling Your Highness so that we could better achieve what Your Highness commanded us.

On the envelope which contains this letter is a notation evidently dictated by the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza, notifying Benavente that all further entradas are to be suspended, this state of affairs to last until His Majesty gives further orders. This suspension of entradas and conquests was a general measure advised by Gasca. They were not again conceded until the viceroyship of Marqués de Cañete, D. Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza.

The results of Benavente's expedition , as is apparent from his account, were very meager. It is interesting that he gave the Jivaros the name by which they have since been known; this being the name applied to them by the Paltas."

"JUAN DE SALINAS

On November 10, 1556, as the result of an order from the King, the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of the dominion of Peru, agreed to outfit Juan de Salinas for the purpose of exploring and colonizing the provinces of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros. It was agreed that Salinas be given a commission authorizing him to establish an encomienda of Indians in each town which he populated, from which he would profit after the usual Royal fifths had been deducted.

On November 19, 1556, Salinas began the task of recruiting and outfitting his army of exploration. The city of Loja was selected as headquarters for this purpose. He was engaged in assembling his expedition until July 8, 1557. Salinas states in one of his memorials that it cost him personally more than 50,000 ducats to provide arms, horses, clothing, and other necessary accoutrements for his men. [9]

The memorable expedition thus begun, continued until he had penetrated into the land more than 800 leagues and was not concluded until August 28, 1559. The description of this expedition, one of the most remarkable in the history of New World exploration, is contained in four letters written by Salinas in Spain during the year 1571, at which time he made a personal visit to the Royal Court in an attempt to straighten out the affairs of his Peruvian holdings. Several other letters and memorials by other writers verify the accounts of Salinas."

2: Stirling--9-10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"The first letter of Salinas is dated June 10, 1571. In it he describes how he established the towns of Valladolid and Loyola in the interandine highland region.

Continuing his explorations beyond Loyola, he crossed with great difficulty 20 leagues of rough mountains, which he found to be entirely unpopulated. Making trails blindly in order that he might move his horses and cattle, he finally reached another inhabited section. Salinas says:

I came upon a valley in an inhabited land that was called Coraguana, a mountainous land but very productive of the foods that the natives use, especially of roots of a plant (11) that they use most and hold in greater esteem than maize; likewise there is much fruit and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and of the chase, especially of wild hogs and a small variety of deer and other animals called antas (tapirs), which have the size, appearance and even meat like an 8-months-old calf; the natives make use of other kinds of animals that have good meat and since the land is very mountainous there is an abundance of everything. The natives are different in language, dress, and customs from those of Loyola and Valladolid; generally, they have cotton plantations which they maintain and make use of to clothe themselves, although they do not make many clothes because the climate is warm. They are a very settled people and not very warlike as the people behind, and so in this valley and at the beginning of this land they appeared to me

"11. Manioc."

2: Stirling--9-10 (1930-1931)-1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

at once to be peaceful, and as I journeyed farther on the people were the same and I arrived at a level valley which they had already told me was called Giuarra, where the people and language were the same and because it appeared to me that there were a great many natives in the midst of this country and as a great many of the people with me were ill, I established a Spanish town in this place Giuarra, calling it Santiago de las Montañas because of having arrived at this place the eve of Santiago Day (July 24, 1557), which town it appeared desirable to change to a place deeper into the territory of the natives and so it was resettled on the banks of a river (12) carrying much water, which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon, which is the reason why I established it here in order that it might serve as a post for the continuance of the discoveries and explorations

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"12. This is obviously the present Santiago River. According to Juan Navarro de Beaumonte, one of the principal soldiers who accompanied Salinas, the second seat of Santiago was called Masquisinango. Salinas gave this river the name of San Bartolomé, because of having discovered it on this Saint's Day (Aug. 24). Formerly it was called Parossa by the Jivaros."

of the river below. In the vicinity of this town many gold mines were discovered, especially some mines that gave very good indications of [10] richness, and it is evident that they probably are. (13) This city of Santiago was about 40 leagues below Loyola; the Natives here likewise were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its chiefs or captains and, although they are not a warlike people, they carry on continual wars among themselves, killing and robbing one another. They did not keep llamas, although in this valley of Gibarra there were some. (14)"

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"13. The mines of Cangasa.

14. Salinas in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. lxv-ci."

2: Stirling--10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"After Salinas had pacified the natives in this vicinity he assigned sections of the land to various encomenderos and gave the necessary commissions to maintain the establishment and then continued his voyage of exploration and colonization.

Farther on beyond the city of Santiago and the boundaries of the territory assigned to it we passed the river that they called Faen and Chachapoyas and Guánuco, which all now come together and become the Marañon, since all the rest are branches and the latter is the principal river. (15) I came upon a province and country that they called Cungarapas, whose people, although they differ somewhat in language, correspond to those of Santiago because they are all nearly the same and the land is likewise, although here there are more savannahs and less mountainous land, especially where the natives have their habitations and cultivated lands. There are mountain ridges and plains and the climate of the region is very good and it is healthful and there is an abundance of all kinds of food as are used in the Indies, and fruits and fish in great quantitity, and game, and in general the water is very good; and deposits of salt, which they prepare artificially in great quantities with fire. There were llamas, although few, in this land and province and in the country nearby, although in order to clothe themselves they made use

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"15. Notwithstanding this, he says in another place that all these rivers together are called the Rio de Faén."

of cotton, which they had and which they planted and used generally. The natives of this country and province are very domestic and not by any means warriors or warlike, although they continually have their diaputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respected but each town and group had its chiefs and captains in the manner of thoseof Santiago before mentioned. Twenty-eight or thirty leagues below the city of Sangiago in this territory in the most suitable part and in a very good location, I established a town that was called Santa Maria de Nieva. * * *

After pacifying the natives here, which Salinas says was little work because of their being good natured and domestic, he organized the town of Santa Maria de Nieva, as he had previous settlements. Leaving Nieva, with a picked crew of 54 of his strongest and most healthy men, he left the remainder to maintain the new settlement and continued his explorations. Ten leagues below Nieva he came to the junction of the Santiago and Marañon Rivers and then became the first European to make the passage of the dreaded Pongo Manseriche (pl. 29). After visiting the Mainas Indians, he continued down the Marañon to its juncture with the Ucayali. He then ascended the Ucayali to a point opposite Cuzco. Finally, after having been absent 18 months, Salinas returned by the same route to Santiago."

2: Stirling--11-12 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
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"The second letter of Salinas, probably written in 1571, brings in some additional details. After describing the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola whom he says are

> warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town has its chief and captains under whom they band together,

he describes their material culture and also the game and food plants of the region in considerable detail. Again he tells of crossing the unpopulated section between these mountain valleys and the beginning of the Jivaro country on the Upano River. He says:

This unpopulated and rough section lasted about 20 leagues, at the end of which I came to a territory settled by natives in the mountains, although there were sections of savannahs. They were a people different in language, dress, arms, and customs, and were very much more domestic than those behind. Their necessities of life and their fruits were the same; their garments and clothes of cotton; fish in great abundance in the rivers, and salt in great quantities produced artificially as well as occurring naturally like rock. I travelled more than 30 leagues through settlements of the nature of the aforementioned people without observing any difference in the language of one from the other, although they had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner. At the the end of these 30 leagues travelled in a west to east direction, I populated the city of Santiago de las Montañas, which I believe is in six degrees latitude. It is 50 leagues from Loyola, a little more or less. The difference in their arms from those behind is that they have copper axes and shields of anta (16) skin and of wood, and spear throwers which they call estolicas. In this land there is abundant hunting of wild hogs, as well as antas (they are similar to cows), and deer and a hundred thousand other repugnant mountain insects and reptiles; they hunt big partridges like blind hens (Odontophorus cripturus sp.), turkey-hens (Crax sp.) and paugies, a very large bird with very good meat, and other birds of the pheasant type (Penelope sp.). There were some herds of llamas, although few, and doves, papagayos, (17) and cuys, (18) or the before-mentioned rabbits.

Having travelled for 30 leagues from the said city of Santiago by a northsouth course continually through the same group of people, having the same language, dress, arms, manner of livelihood, hunting and chase, fishing, salt and fruit for about 30 leagues, I populated the city of Santa Maria de Nieva, without the natives and all the other things

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"16. Anta = tapir.
17. Papagayos = macaws.
18. Cuys = guinea pigs.

differing much from those at Santiago. I think the said city of Santa Maria de Nieva was established in eight degrees latitude; outside of the fruits mentioned there are some that are called Almendras (19) because they resemble those here (20) and are even better; there are many very useful tree gums such as caraña, tacaamaca, and other gums that I don't remember; cacao of New Spain in great quantity. Gold was beginning to be taken in the rivers within the environs of said city, [12] although in Santiago there are many signs of great richness. The natives within the district of said city of Nieva have some llamas.

In the aforementioned city of Santiago, which is settled on a very great river, as I said, in which have come together all the waters and rivers from the city of Camora and Loyola, I named it the Rio de Sant Bartolomé, because I embarked on the river below to make the discovery on that day (Aug. 24, 1557). After having sailed 12 leagues north-south by it, I came to another very powerful river which I named the Rio de Faen, (21) in which came together all the rivers of Faen (22) and of the city of Chachapoyas (23) and that of Guanu-

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"19. Almonds.

20. Spain.

21. The same that later on and in the previous letter he calls the Marañon.

22. Chuquimaya, today Chinchipe, Cherinos and higher section of the Marañon.

23. Bahua, Bahuan, or Uteupampa."

co, (24) by which lower river I navigated for about 250 leagues west-east, until I arrived at a very great river (25) on San Miguel day (Sept. 29, 1557) and thus I gave it that name.

Salinas again describes the Mainas, of whom he says:

Their arms are darts and shields and throwing rods with estolicas, and some that are called macanas (26) which are the size of a broadsword, of palms.

The third letter is concerned more with political and controversial matters than with descriptions of the country, so it is not quoted here. The fourth letter, written in the third person, has more information of interest."

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"24. Huallaga or Rio de los Motilones.
25. Ucayali.
26. Wooden clubs.

2: Stirling--12-13 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"After crossing the Continental Divide he came upon 'a land settled with natives of pleasing appearance, of good climate, and full of all kinds of food, ' which aspect of said new land pleased him very much.

He continued travelling and discovering, passing many settlements and provinces and valleys, some uninhabited, for about 100 leagues, in the course of which and in the most suitable sections he settled four cities, whose names are, first Valladolid, second Loyola, third Santa Maria de Nieva, and fourth Santiago de las Montañas: the latter was settled and is situated on the bank of a very great river which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon. The natives of that province having given him good news of a well-populated land of great richness and good appearance on the river below, he determined to embark on said river in canoes with the group of soldiers that were most healthy, because most of the soldiers who had accompanied him in the work and discovery made up to then were suffering with some disease or affliction; and thus he left in said city of Santiago all of the horses and other means of conveyance, and the sick people and that which was necessary for the maintenance of said city and with only 54 soldiers he embarked on said river with canoes, determined and desirous of seeing and exploring said land of which he had good news. By navigating down said river, he encountered another very great river, at which juncture the waters made a great disturbance, and a big narrow pass (27) in the ridge of mountains through which the said rivers went, was passed with great danger and shipwreck with no less than great risk of lives, from which danger Our Lord delivered them, although with loss of munitions, arms, and some natives who were with them. Past the danger and said risk, which certainly was great, he came to a province of natives called Cipitacona, with a nose device not seen before. (13)Again the trip down the Marañon and up the Ucayali is described and the return to Santiago. Salinas says further:

The going and return and the voyage of discovery lasted almost 2 years, without being able to return any news concerning himself, and for this reason and the long delay, the group of Spaniards that he had left in the cities that he had populated, disheartened, believing him dead, as well as those who had gone with him, disbanded and fled and went to Peru, for which reason he was forced, on coming out, to refit himself with people and arms, for which he returned to the chief part of said land, and then came back to rebuild said four cities, which had been depopulated as a result of his long absence, and he populated them again; and having quieted and pacified the natives that had been in the district, and having discovered many gold mines to recount to His Majesty what had been occupying his time and the deeds he had accomplished. (28)"

"27. The famous Pongo Manseriche.

28. Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. xc-xciii."

2: Stirling--13 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"There is in existence a fifth letter written by Salinas after his return from the Court of Spain to Peru. In this document he says:

Following my return I have busied myself in establishing order and settling and sustaining the four cities that I left populated when I came to the Kingdom to salute Your Highness. In addition I have populated two more in suitable locations, one of which is called Logroño and the other Nueva Sevilla del Oro. In all of these, mines have been discovered and are still being discovered, which promise great riches and that the Royal fifths of Your Highness will be greatly increased; even though there should be no other reward for the work which has been put into them and the expenses incurred, that return would be large. (29)"

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"29. The date and place of birth of Juan de Salinas is not known for certain, but he was apparently a native of Cordoba. His legitimate parents were Martin Sánchez and Victoria Gómez. He came from Spain to Mexico, where he accompanied Hernando Cortés on his expedition to the Gulf of Higueras; he went with Benalcázar to Peru and was one of the first settlers of Lima, where he built a house and owned his own ground. Salinas was the third Spaniard to navigate the Marañon; the first being Orellana and the second Capt. Don Alonso Mercadillo in his expedition to the province of the Chupachos. He was a man of strong character and great determination. He planned large under-

2: Stirling--13 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

takings and carried them out with unusual perseverance under great difficulties. In temperament he was inclined much more to harshness than to gentleness, but it is quite possible that the cruelties against the Indians charged to him were exaggerated. After his great journey of exploration, during which he explored the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers, he returned to Spain in the year 1569 and remained for 4 years at the Court in order to solicit favors from the King and to obtain ratification of the concessions that the Viceroy of Peru, Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, had given him. Succeeding in this, he returned to America, where he spent the last years of his life amidst continuous difficulties. He was imprisoned in Quito, where he was implicated in a criminal trial in which the Audiencia charged him with being responsible for extreme cruelty to the Indians. Juan de Peralta, the Attorney General of the Audiencia of Quito, charged him with having had living Indians torn to pieces with greyhounds trained for the purpose, of having buried Indians alive in pits in which sharpened sticks had previously been placed, and of having burned them by setting fire to their houses, forcing them to die with their families. It was also charged that he ordered a pastry cook to pull out the teeth of the Indians, also had them put to death by impaling them with sharpened sticks, and had them tied naked on ants' nests so that they would be killed. Other cruelties of a similar nature were detailed in these hearings. However, Salinas was able to free himself from these charges and was restored to his former position of power. He established his residence in Loja, where, broken in health, he died in 1582, the last survivor of the Conquistadores of the Kingdom of Quito."

2: Stirling--14 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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"The city of Sevilla del Oro developed out of the settlement of Rosario. From other contemporary documents we are able to obtain more details than are given us by Salinas concerning the founding of the two new settlements which he mentions.

Espada tells us that Nuestra Señora del Rosario was founded on August 15, 1563, (30) in a great hurry, with the object of acquiring the right of possession of this territory by means of a deed consummated by Capt. Juan de Salinas Guinea, nephew of Juan de Salinas Loyola, because of the fact that the territory was outside of the government intended for the latter. However, the city did not prosper and was abandoned in a short time, excepting for a renegade population. The Audiencia of Quito attempted to clean out this bad element and to repopulate the city. In 1571 Capt. Alvaro de Paz was put in charge of the reorganization. The job proved too much for him and he was obliged to flee with his company.

By this time Salinas had returned from the Court of Spain, having satisfactorily terminated his efforts concerning his government of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros and concerning the favors that he considered he deserved by having discovered and populated the territory. Believing or pretending that he considered the territory of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was in his government and not in that of the Quijos, he commissioned Capt.

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"30. Probably near the present town of Macas on the Upano River."

2: Stirling--14 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Jose Villanueva Maldonado to repopulate it in his name at a location probably somewhat to the north of its first seat (31) and to rename it Sevilla del Oro.

Maldonado's account in the Archives of the Indies is as follows:

By commission from the Governor Juan de Salinas Loyola, * * * I collected a number of people in Cuenca and entered with them to said province, having outfitted the soldiers with me at my expense in order that they might enter more willingly and having entered said province and pacified the land, I populated and founded the city or Sevilla del Oro and divided the land, and 20 encomenderos lived in said city, married for the greater part; and there are in the province many churches and many gold mines."

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"31. North bank of the Upano River opposite the present town of Macas."

2: Stirling--14-15 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"Of course, Salinas' title was disputed and he later lost the territory.

Maldonado's account states that he lived in Sevilla del Oro more than 9 years after establishing it. Since this account was written in Quito on February 7, 1584, it seems apparent that the foundation of Sevilla del Oro took place in 1575.

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, inhabitant of Santiago de las Montañas, writing in Quito, January 26, 1586, says that he came to the government of his uncle, Juan de Salinas Loyola, and that at the [15] time his uncle returned from Spain he was made lieutenant general, remaining in this office until Salinas de Loyola died. He says that during this time he maintained all the land in peace without mutinies or scandals and in order to increase the Royal patrimony went to the province of the Jivaros with a new commission and with 40 men in order to explore that province where, after having suffered many deprivations, hardships, and losses of his goods, he established the city of Logroño(32) de los Caballeros on the Paute River, and having established it and pacified the inhabitants, and having treated them all well, they rebelled against the Royal service under the leadership of two half-breeds called Diego Lopez de la Banda and Francisco de Ro-

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"32. A manuscript letter of Juan Lorenzo Lucero dated Xeberos 1683 states that Logroño was first founded at the confluence of the Paute and Zamora Rivers and that 'today Pedro Espino de Caceres is missionary on that great river.'"

2: Stirling--14-15 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

jas and they came to said city, killing in the outskirts of the towns all of the people that they found, numbering more than 40 men, until finally they came to said city and surrounded it, where the 12 men and the women who had remained in said city defended it as long as the siege lasted.

Maldonado, in his account made in Quito, February 7, 1584, states that while he was in Sevilla del Oro--

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, by order of his lordship Juan de Salinas, left and went to populate the city of Logroño in the Xíbaros country, which he did with the soldiers that Villanueva had and with their arms and ammunition and with them populated the city of Logroño; and said province being raided by the Jivaros and the Hon. Juan de Salinas being advised of it and having notified me of said raid and the death of seven Spaniards, said Villanueva sent hurriedly some Spaniards to aid said city of Logroño, because without such assistance said city would suffer great risk."

2: Stirling--15-16 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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"Fernando de Montesinos, in his Anales del Perú, (33) quotes the following from original documents in the Archives of the Indies:

Year 1564--After many trials that Governor Don Juan de Salinas Loyola suffered in the pacification of his territory, he populated the cities of Valladolid, Loyola, and Logroño de los Caballeros, he appointed mayors and established regulations for them, put the Royal treasury in the city of Logroño which was nearest the Gibaros, the province richest in gold that he had discovered. He gave each Royal official 100 pesos of gold as salary from the same coffer. They enjoyed this benefit with much uneasiness since the Indians are warlike and rebellious so that they are very unsure of them. At the end of a year and a half, the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola killed the camp master, Francisco de Mercado (uncle of the wife of the governor), and 12 other soldiers. Capt. Juan de Alderete (brother-in-law of the Governor of Loxa) went to punish them with 30 soldiers and friendly Indians and attempted to make peace with the rebels but they would not permit it until after engaging in many battles, and finally, seeing the injury that was being done to them, they gave in peacefully and returned to rebuild the cities, so at once they reestablished Logroño. [16]

González Suárez tells us (34) that the soldiers sent for the defense of Logroño gathered

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"33. Vol. II, pp. 12-13.
34. Historia General, vol. vi, p. 79."

2: Stirling--15-16 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

together in a palisade which they constructed, where they remained for an entire year. They suffered so much want, that after sampling the leather on their shields without getting much nourishment from it, they were forced to kill and eat all of their watch dogs, which were greatly needed to warn them of the frequent sorties on the part of the Jivaros. The trail to Cuenca being held by the Indians, they finally succeeded in sending word down the river to Santiago. Juan de Cáseres Patiño, curate at that city, proceeded at great personal risk to their assistance."

2: Stirling--16-18 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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## "THE JIVARO REVOLT

Unquestionably the source of much of the gold utilized by the Incas of the Highlands was in the rich placers of the Jivaro country. It is therefore not surprising that during the second half of the sixteenth century such strenuous efforts were made by the Spaniards to colonize this humid and jungle-clad region. If we are to trust the figures of the contemporary historians, many of these settlements became surprisingly populous, but although dignified by the name of cities, one should not lose sight of the fact that the houses were nothing but small huts built of cane and roofed over with thatch. The walls were of a light wattle-and-daub construction and in the entire region not a single solid or permanent structure was erected. Although these settlements were laid out in squares, with streets and the ground plan of a city, they were probably not very impressive to look upon.

During the first years of their foundation, at which time the Indians appear to have submitted in a docile manner to their encomenderos, the cities prospered and gave promise of great development. With the death of Salinas no one with sufficient strength of character or executive ability arose to take his place and from this time the decline of the Spanish settlements in the region was rapid. As the oppression and cruelties of the encomenderos began to make themselves felt the Indians grew more rebellious and the attitude of the wild Indians became more and more hostile toward the Spaniards. Successful revolts were carried out by the Indians in many places, they being favored by the nature of the country and the climate which was natural to them but unfamiliar to the Europeans. The cupidity of the colonists in the end resulted in the final destruction of themselves, of their settlements, and of their ambitious plans. The series of revolts carried on by the Jivaros culminated in the great uprising of 1599, which terminated in the complete destruction of Spanish rule in the Jivaro territory and enabled the Indians to [17] revert once more to their native customs and manner of life. The following is Velasco's account:

In 1599, the year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jivaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jivaros would not, and were about to resolve to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the River Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary, and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jivaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy, the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all Spaniards in that region on a certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and the other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learned that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant 25 leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jivaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Morona Jivaros intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huâmboya (16 leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone toward Riobambo.

When the Jivaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; [18] when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor

Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one-quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jivaros nearly destroyed the neighboring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force in the Indian country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jivaros as far as the River Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jivaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the others into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish Government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barks, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jivaros lay in ambush and destroyed the whole of the expedition. After 6 months those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He appled to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four. (35)"

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"35. Bollaert, 1863b, pp. 116-118. Translated from Velasco, t. III, p. 152."

2: Stirling--18-19 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"The cities of Santiago and Nieva on the Santiago River apparently continued to be occupied by the Spaniards to a certain extent following the great uprising, but for 20 years Spanish activities in the Jivaro country were practically at a standstill. The descendants of the Conquistadores, however, never lost the idea of colonizing the region of the Santiago, and finally in the month of September 1619 the Governor of Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, went from the city of Santiago on an expedition with 68 soldiers and 3 priests on a new effort aimed at subduing the Jivaros.

This well-equipped expedition embarked in 22 large canoes on the Santiago River. Saabedra says that the river had a width of four-quarters of a ship (400 rods) at the city of Santiago. He continues:

It is very quiet and navigable. Scarcely traveling 10 leagues down the river, the Marañon is encountered which is very swift and powerful and, at the point of junction with the Santiago, it is the width of three-quarters of a ship, and together the two rivers continue their course to the Mar del Norte and, in a little less than half a league, begin to narrow and surge through the pass of [19]the Pongo, which constricts the torrent which leaves at that place the general range that crosses all of Peru, which range this river divides, passing with such fury that it is beyond description because of both rivers going through the pass of the Pongo which in places is only the width of one-quarter of a ship and in other places twice the width of a street. It is a league and a half long, so that one passes through in little more than an hour.

In this stretch there are three places where the violent turbulence of the water produces dangerous difficulties, the first two being due to currents exceeding the ordinary ones in the pass and which originate due to the water striking large rocks which project through the torrent in the channel, producing from one end to the other of these rocks huge whirlpools whose vortices extend across the river, in which torrents lie the danger, and in order to pass them it is necessary to wait when the river rises; and the last torrent, which is the most dangerous, the Indians call Marceriche [sic], because of the big jagged rocks which the river here divides, the top of which is barely visible when rushing through and the surface of the stream is composed of huge whirlpools and their vortices, caused by the river striking against the big rocks and one big one that is in the middle of the narrow channel where the river suddenly shifts direction and it takes a vast amount of energy to pass that point; and they call this latter Manseric because of the many small parrots that are on the rocks.

Through this pass went the governor and three leagues farther down the river encountered the first province of the infidel Mainas Indians which were subdued by the Royal Service for there must be about 800 of them without counting many that come every day from the river and lakes where they live. These gave the governor a good reception. (36)"

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"36. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

2: Stirling--19 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"Saabedra describes how Vaca de Vega continued down the Marañon and up the Pastaza to Lake Rimachuma, being very successful in his dealings with these Indians and having no trouble with them. He then says:

The governor, having seen that there were sufficient Indians in these two provinces to found a city, determined to populate the city of San Francisco de Borja and so it was done in the name of Your Majesty below the Pongo and its pass, half a league from the general range on the left hand, on the Marañon River toward the west; a healthful land with good air and climate and a very good location. He founded it after considerable deliberation because the cities of Santiago and Santa Maria de Nieva of the province of Yaguarsongo are protected by it from the continuous assaults that the infidels are accustomed to make. (37)

Borja, the newly founded city, appears to have been inhabited for some time by a mixed population of Spaniards, mestizos, and representatives from numerous Indian

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"37. The account of Saabedra contains a very interesting description of the Mainas Indians under the heading 'Manner and nature of the Indians and their mode of living; fruits and sustenances supplied by the land of the Mainas, which land is reduced to the Royal Service.' Unfortunately, Saabedra gives us no account of the Jivaros.--Saabedra, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxliv--cxlviii."

2: Stirling--19 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

tribes of the region, including some Jivaros. When Vaca de Vega returned he was named Governor of the province of Mainas on condition that he pacify the Jivaros. However, he apparently made no move to do this."

2: Stirling--20 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*-1
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"In May of 1645 his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who succeeded him in office, sent two Franciscan monks, Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, into the *Jivaro* country from Cuenca with a military escort under Antonio Carreño. This expedition resulted in complete failure, but it is interesting because it marked the first of a series of combined religious and military expeditions which enabled these attempts at subduing the *Jivaros* to be cloaked with a more commendable purpose than was the case with the purely military expeditions of the past.

During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the *Jivaro* territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the *Jivaro* country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Mainas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a very brief career. The *Jivaro* Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to

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"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful entrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt. The only result of this expedition was the establishment of a settlement in the Jivaro country which they named Naranjo. There was so little to hold it together, however, that the town soon failed and was deserted. (39)"

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"39. Chantre y Herrera, p. 283."

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## "THE EXPEDITION OF DON JERÓNIMO VACA

In 1692 a very ambitious and determined effort was made to convert the *Jivaros* by force and by persuasion. The Indians, however, evidently had other ideas about the saving of their souls, and the failure of this expedition was as great in proportion as was the effort put forth to insure its success. By order of the Royal [21] Audiencia, Don *Jerónimo* Vaca, Captain-General of Mainas, accompanied by the Superior of the Jesuit missions, Father Viva, undertook the direction of this attempted conquest. Father Viva supplied the expedition with canoes and a picked army of his best mission Indians, consisting of Cunivos, Cocamas, Xeveros, (40) Cutinanas, Paranapuras, Muniches, Otanavis, Chamicuros, Aguanos, and Tibilos. The expedition was also manned by inhabitants of the town of Santiago and of Guallaga and the entire army, which now consisted of 900 natives and approximately 100 Spaniards, assembled at Borja. Each of the many groups of Indians represented were in command of their own missionary and each was armed in accordance with its own customs. The expedition had instructions from no less an authority than the Royal Court of Madrid to find out for once and for all the real truth concerning the richness of the alleged gold and silver mines which were supposed to exist in the *Jivaro* country. All of the missions had contributed liberally not only toward supplying

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"40. Not to be confused with *Jivaros*."

the expedition copiously with all sorts of foods and equipment but generous financial support was rendered by them as well.

The historian tells us:

Many people in the city of Santiago not far from the land of the Gívaros had high hopes for the successful conclusion of this entrada. Among them, the Vicar of the city, Don Isidro Moreno, a strict priest of exceptional demeanor, was very much pleased with the prospect of seeing the Gívaros conquered and he contributed his share to the conquest, offering as many supplies as he could without sparing expense, but the captain and the Spanish soldiers were not a little disheartened because of the sad experiences which they had had in the past with similar expeditions. (41)

The priests, however, bolstered the spirits of the soldiers by explaining that the company of Jesuits would cover the entire expense of the expedition and that the soldiers need not depend upon receiving anything from the Royal Audiencia, and so they set forth on this final great effort for the spiritual welfare of the infidel Jivaro."

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"41. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-304."

2: Stirling--21-23 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"The chronicler continues:

Don Jeronimo (Vaca) having seen that everything was prepared, sent his orders to the army to assemble at Borja. This was done, although not without some difficulty because numerous canoes were cracked on account of the violence of the currents in the river which in some places are very turbulent. But finally having passed everything without special loss and having taken from San Ignacio de Mainas the best Indians of that nation, they came to the city of Borja, where they were received with many cheers and salutations because of being one of the best and most well-organized armadas that had ever been seen in that territory. The governor wished to assure the undertaking and, knowing very well that courage and prudence for those in the army must come from God, he commanded that, everyone having disembarked, [22] they come in military order to the church of the city where, kneeling before the Holy Sacrament, they made their vows, imploring the aid of Heaven on the trip. Encamping near the ciy, all of the army prayed for several days that they might pass without accident through the very dangerous gorge of the Pongo, because a flood came up that prevented the transit of the armada. They asked the Lord to lower the waters and, on the ninth day, they resolved to pass through, which they did without losing anyone because, although five of the canoes were overturned by the violence of the current, those who did not upset easily picked up the people.

2: Stirling--21-23 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Having passed the gorge of the Pongo, the entire party of canoes entered the Santiago River, where General Vaca had embarked and was received with applause and joy by the soldiers. Upon passing through the city of Santiago they collected new provisions, and having done this, they took the direct route to the former town of Naranjo, having sent ahead some canoes of Xeveros and Cunivos, who, being more skilful in fishing, caught as many fish as they could for the army. The squadron having arrived at a place called Cusahu in the Gîbaros territory, the General decided that some Spanish soldiers with some 30 Xeveros should disembark and reconnoiter the country, which party succeeded in capturing 21 Gîbaros, by virtue of surprising them while they were celebrating noisily a solemn drunken feast, because of having killed two famous wizards, whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering. As they had not been able to capture the rest of the Gîbaros who were bathing some distance away in the river, these latter promptly spread the news to the whole nation which rebellliously armed itself, collected together all their belongings and carried those people unfit for war to their inaccessible hiding places. The Spaniards camped between a ravine and the Santiago River and in 3 days had fortified themselves in this place with a palisade and counterscarp made from sticks and straw, which although it was not perfectly solid, was sufficient to impede the blows of lances, the weapon used by the Gîbaros. All of our force consisted of 900 Indians, each armed according to the custom of his tribe, and not quite 100 Spanish soldiers in whom, because of the superiority of firearms, was principally placed the hope for the subjugation of the Gíbaros. This purpose would have been accomplished if the Indians had come to a decisive battle; but far from pitting their arms against ours in this manner, they followed the mannor of warfare which they had learned on other occasions to be most advantageous. They did not appear gathered together in a large body, but in small groups without order, but in advantageous places, and when they saw the conflict going against them, they fled through rough ground where they could not be followed. Our men left the camp in various companies, some Spanish soldiers always accompanying the Indians, and they made various expeditions in all directions and they even penetrated almost up to the city of Zamora of the other band of Gíbaros; but the result of these expeditions was so slight that it was soon seen that it would be impossible to subject that nation strongly fortified in their impenetrable mountains and hiding places in caves, if they did not come out of hiding.

In brief, during the 5 months that this expedition lasted, only 372 people were captured, in reality a very small result when the great preparations are considered, the number of people taking part, and the long time that was spent in this much-talked-of expedition. It should not be omitted that various captives were the result of the diligence and efforts of the missionaries who attracted and won these over by their good manner and kindness. The children were immediately baptized and the people sent to the city of Borja and to the [23] Concepción of the Xeveros; but as a result of carelessness during their transportation, some of the more daring ones escaped and returned to their lands. The army, suffering now from hunger, depleted by illness, and diminished by the death of several who fell into the hands of the enemies, was disbanded and each section with its respective missionary took the path to its own land without having even begun the conquest of the Gíbaros, who were made strong by their rough country and rocky cover from which some of the most courageous emerged from time to time always leaving those people useless to them behind in safety. Regarding this the Spaniards noticed a remarkable thing which they admired very much. The mothers in order that they would not be discovered and in order to free themselves from encumbrances would hang their children to trees fearing that the cries of the children would give the Spaniards some indication of their secret hiding places. (42) The expedition served a certain purpose in that it enlightened those who thought that force of arms would be sure to succeed in that territory particularly when uniting the missionaries with the soldiers But the Spaniards were so far from

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"42. Gonzáles Suárez adds the following: 'The Givaros violently taken from their native farms, either fled or committed suicide: Mothers killed their own young children, purposely choking them with dirt or with dirt or with mud and stones.' Suarez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, p. 204."

8: Stirling--B1-23 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-5
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succeeding in the subjugation of the Gibaro nation that the principal result of their undertaking appeared to be that they had succeeded in nothing more than discovering a way by which it was possible to travel to the city of Cuenca. (43)

When the disastrous results of this attempt were brought to the attention of the Viceroy of Peru he issued an edict prohibiting similar military forays in the future."

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"43. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-307."

## "THE LATER JIVARO MISSIONS

The Jivaros were left undisturbed for a long time. It was not until 1767 that a new attempt at their conversion was made. In this year the Jesuit father, Andrès Camacho, went along into the country around the headwaters of the Morona, where a large group of Jivaros had established themselves. He also visited others on the Santiago River and still others between the Morona and the Pastaza. Father Andrès gained the friendship and confidence of the Jivaro chief Masuthaca, and because of the friendly manner in which he conducted himself seemed well on the way to making considerable progress with his plans. He succeeded in baptizing about 200 children. However, just at this time the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies and, as a result, his efforts came to naught. (44)

The missions which had thus been launched were turned over first to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. It appears, however, that no progress was made by the missions and the period was principally one of decadence and disorganization. [24]

During the time that the Jesuits from their eastern missions were attempting to con-

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"44. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 574-577."

vert the *Jivaros* the Dominicans were trying to do the same thing from the west. The Dominican convent of Quito sent out four priests in the year 1581 into the territory of the Jivaros and the Canelos. Valentin de Amaya traveled down the right bank of the Pastaza while Baltasar Quintana explored the left bank of the river. Diego de Ochoa and Sebastian Romero penetrated into the mountains of Penday and Puya near the source of the Pindo River. During the year 1581 the town of Canelos was founded at the mouth of the Pindo and missionary work was started at this point. However, the Spaniards were continually harassed by the attacks of the *Jivaros* and it became necessary to change the location of Canelos twice. It was finally established on the left bank of the Bobonaza on the spot where it exists at the present day. (45) This mission was officially turned over to the Dominicans by Charles II in 1683 but it did not progress, and by 1778 it contained only 22 converts.

About this time Father Santiago Riofrío arrived, and under his administration the mission began to make headway. He succeeded in adding three small villages to the territory of the mission in 1789. These were Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Jacinto, and San

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"45. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, p. 134, cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 345."

Carlos de los Achuales. (46) In 1803 the Dominicans relinquished control of the mission and it was placed under the Bishop of Mainas.

During part of the eighteenth century the Dominicans attempted to expand the mission at Macas, but with little success. In 1736 Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, acting under instructions of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, began work among the wild natives of the region but succeeded only in introducing smallpox to them instead of Christianity. The Indians, having no resistance to this new disease, suffered terrible fatalities and the survivors fled. (47)

In 1785 Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, Corregidor of Loja, by order of the President of Quito, dispatched an expedition to Zamora and vicinity. (48)

With the expulsion of the Jesuits and the dawn of the nineteenth century the series of attempts at the conversion of the Jivaros temporarily came to an end. For more than a century they had resisted the moral persuasion of the priests as successfully as they had the firearms of the Spanish soldiers."

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"46. Gonzàlez Suárez, Historia General, vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

47. Compte, p. 55.

48. According to Gonzàlez Suárez, the diary of Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta contains considerable information of an ethnological nature concerning the Jivaros living in the vicinity of Zamora. This account, which is apparently still unpublished, also contains a map of the region showing the site of Zamora at that date as lying to the east of Loja."

2: Stirling--25 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 175

"During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there arose a rumor that there was a rich treasure concealed in the ruins of the old city of Logroño, destroyed during the uprising of 1599. It was also believed that, could these ruins be relocated, it would be possible to again discover the placer mines in the vicinity, which in legend had grown to be fabulously rich. The expeditions which went into the Jivaro country during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries were inspired with the hope of discovering these treasures. The invasions usually were thinly cloaked as missionary efforts for the conversion of the Indians.

In 1788 and 1789 expeditions were dispatched in search of Logroño by the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. It was hoped also to discover an easy path from Cuenca to the territory of the Mainas missions, with the idea in mind of opening this country to exploitation. These expeditions located some ruins which were evidently an archeological site of aboriginal origin but which they mistook for the ruins of the old city, and the rumor was kept alive.

The most interesting of these treasure-hunting parties was organized in 1815 under the direction of a Dominican friar, José Prieto, who conducted an expedition to the spot where Logroño was supposed to have been founded. Prieto proceeded to the mountains of Gualaquiza, where he was received in a friendly manner by the Jivaros, and he succeeded in baptizing some of their children . Having thus began the work of conversion,

2: Stirling--25 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

he took the opportunity to establish a small settlement and here founded the town of Gualaquiza, 1 league from the confluence of the Bomboiza River with the Paute of Santiago. He was encouraged in this effort by the Jivaros, who were motivated by a desire to obtain free European trade goods and other favors from the Europeans. The Indians told Prieto that the location of Logroño had been carried down to them by tradition transmitted from fathers to sons and pointed out to him some orange trees, saying, 'here lie buried the whites, your ancestors.' (49) Prieto's article, 'Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros, su religion, costumbres y producciones', was the best ethnological account of the Jivaros prepared up to this time. (50)"

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"49. González Suárez had in his possession the diary of Prieto written during this expedition which contains among other things a detailed plan of the ruins which he found at the junction of the Bomboiza and the Sangurima Rivers. It is obvious fromthe description that these are of pre-Columbian origin."

50. Prieto, in Compte, pp. 63-68."

2: Stirling--25-26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175

"Following this period, the political disturbances in the South American colonies and the various wars of independence practically brought to an end further attempts at penetration into the jungle country of the Andes. The Jivaro were left in peace until about the [26] middle of the nineteenth century, at which time the missionaries renewed attempts at their conversion.

In 1848 Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza but did not have much success in his mission."

2: Stirling--26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"In November of 1852, Fray José Manuel Plaza, Bishop of Cuenca, being desirous of colonizing Gualaquiza, set out for the region of the eastern Andes in spite of the fact that he was more than 80 years of age. He spent about 5 months among the Jivaro Indians on the Zamora and has described his expedition in a report to the Ecuadorian Minister of State, dated April 9, 1853. After describing the natural resources of the Gualaquiza region, he says:

The Indians called Jivaros live in Chuquipamba and principally on the banks of the Zamora up to the point where the Chicani are found, this being the place which serves as a port of embarkation in coming from Loja and which is 5 days from Gualaquiza going up and only 2 coming down. The Jivaros live in that complete natural liberty which is so lamentable to the body as well as to the soul, since from it arises polygamy without the vigilance and toil of the priests being able to restrain it, resulting from this a repugnance towards embracing the Christian religion and consequently a state of slavery and abjection for the women, victims of the pleasure, incontinence and libidinousness of the men; one can well affirm that these three passions form the distinct character of these infidels.

Their dwelling, which they change every 6 years at the most, is exactly elliptical in shape, it holds several families and each one occupies a kind of berth made of Gadua bamboo-cane, in which one sees a blowgun, a lance, a shield, some feather ornaments, black seeds, and four to six leashed dogs. Round about this house there is a plantation of yucca, bananas, cotton toquilla, and guayuza. They abandon the house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink, and the house closed and remains closed and no one ever returns to live there; which proves according to them the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, the judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ikuanchi. Their language is poor and contains many quichua words; their numerals only reach as far as four and in order to express a greater quantity they make use of the digits of their hands and their toes. As descendants of the old rebels of Logroño they preserve the maxim of not fighting as a unit but scatter throughout the woods and reduce their tactics to treachery. Their clothing consists of a skirt that covers them from the waist to the thigh.

There are about 40 groups of houses dismantled between Gualaquiza and Yumasa, maintained by 12 people, men and women who have remained notwithstanding the terror that the infidels inspired in them. (51)

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"51. Letter of D. Fr. Manuel Plaza dated Apr. 9, 1853, in Compte, pp. 293-299."

2: Stirling--26-27 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"It does not seem advisable to attempt to outline the many accounts of travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions into the Jivaro country during the second half of the nineteenth century, but it will be of interest to indicate in a sketchy manner missionary work which contined during this period. [27]

In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano,

2: Stirling--26-27 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olsen, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianza, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas.

Attempts at the establishment of any sort of military posts within the Jivaro country have failed in modern times as completely as they did in the past.

In the year 1865 the Peruvian Government reestablished the agricultural colony at Borja. The attempt to found this colony started very auspiciously. Entire families were collected and embarked up the Marañon on river steamers which it was intended would be run on a 6 months' schedule in order to furnish them with food and necessities after they had established new homes until such time as their crops materialized. The foundations of the town were laid, the first houses built, and the first crops planted. At the end of 6 months the steamer arrived to find a flourishing community of about 100 people. Six months later the boat returned to find nothing but charred ruins. They had been visited by the Jivaros from above the Pongo. (52)

The latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries was the period of the great rubber boom in the Amazon basin. In place of gold seekers the Jivaro country was invaded by unorganized groups searching for wealth in the form of wild rubber."

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"52. Up de Graff, p. 171."

2: Stirling--28 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
114, 175

"These cosmopolitan adventurers left few records of their contact with the Jivaros, but they made no attempts at permanent settlements. With the collapse of the rubber market, they soon left the region. Comparatively speaking, the first of the present century has been a quiet period for the Jivaros with respect to alien invasion.

During the last part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries the Jivaros occasionally made forays as far downstream as the Peruvian post of Barranca below the mouth of the Morona.

In 1915 a Peruvian garrison on the upper Morona was attacked by the Jivaros and practically the entire garrison was killed. In 1925 the village and mission of Cahuapenas on the Apaga River was completely wiped out by an attack of the Aguaruna Indians. In 1928 there were further encounters between the Huambizas and the Peruvians and many of the Indians were killed."

2: Stirling--28 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161

"In the year 1580, wishing to have an exact account of the encomiendas under his charge, Juan de Salinas dispatched agents to the different cities which he had founded in the territories of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros of which he was governor, in order that they might make an accurate census of the native Indians in these regions. The census takers were apparently more than a year in completing their work and returning their reports to Valladolid, which at that time was the 'capital' of the territories. During this period Juan de Salinas died and was succeeded by Gaspar de Salinas. The latter being absent at the time, Capt. Juan Aldrete, acting in his place, ordered the scribe Joan Pizarro to assemble the material of this census and to include with it a brief description of the environs of each city taken from the reports of Juan de Salinas himself. This census bears every evidence of having been carefully made and gives us an excellent idea of the aboriginal population in the Jivaro territory in the sixteenth century just before the breakdown of the encomienda. Because of its unique interest, the report is here translated in its complete form, although the sections relating to the cities of Loyola and Valladolid are not included in Jivaro territory."

"ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YAHUARZONGO AND PACAMURUS (53)

In the city of Valladolid, where this government of Yahuarzongo and Pacamoros is located, December 1, 1582, Capt. Juan Aldrete, governor of said territory, because of the absence of Gov. Gaspar de Salinas de Loyola, proprietor of said government, by order of the most powerful President and Judges of the [29] Royal Audiencia of Quito, commands me, the present scrivener, to make an account and census of the Indians and impressions of the things that are within the territories of the cities that are established in the said government surveyed by Don Juan de Salinas (so be his glory), whose memoranda and account of the character of the cities that are populated in said government are the following:

## THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE LAS MONTAÑAS

The city of Santiago de las Montañas of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory). He commissioned for said visit Captain Juan de Rada Modrano and Pedro de Lasarte, who visited the scattered Indians in the territory of said city and it appears, according to their examination, the number of Indian men and women are as follows:

First, in the encomienda of Captain Francisco Perez de Vivero, which includes the towns of Yangurana and Yatanbisas [sic] and Ranamoro and Andoas, 1,645 Indian men and women, children and adults, of which 951 are males and the rest females.

"53. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. 33-45."

2: Stirling--28-31 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 161

In the encomienda of Captain Hernando de Orozco, adjoining said city, which includes the towns of Yranaones [sic] and Guatuzas and Andoas, 1,082 Indian men and women, adults and children, of which 536 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Hinojosa, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Cama, Jumbare and Tayones and Andoas, 916 Indian men and women, of which 496 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Francisco Briceño, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Yaguiza and Curiza, 1,016 Indian men and women, of which 588 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Bernardo de Loyola, including the towns of Yanones and Andoas, 615 Indian men and women, of which 380 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Ortega, inhabitant of said city, including the town Yranaones, 360 Indian men and women, of which 220 are males.

In the encomienda of Rodrigo de Solis, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Caciruma and Chuguaca, 640 men and women, of which 335 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cornejo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Pinchonama, 188 Indian men and women, of which 102 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Acarrero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Moronaza, 339 Indian men and women, of which 188 are males.

In the encomienca of Francisco de Herrera, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Curaguana, 308 Indian men and women, of which 168 are males.

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In the encomienda of Juan Bautista, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cumigarapa, 212 Indian men and women, of which 146 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Medina, in the town of Civiraonas, 90 Indian men and women, of which 36 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Cardela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males.

In the encomienda of Simon de Carvajal, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cuyumbana, 543 Indian men and women, of whom 304 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego Vela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Bobonaza, 323 Indian men and women, of whom 160 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Tapia, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males. [30]

In the encomienda of the late Alonso Perex de Toro and his wife who owns them, including the town of Marazaconas, 216 Indian men and women, of whom 145 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Zamorano, including the town of Patocurapa, 260 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The Indians who are under the head of Governor Don Gaspar in the districts of said city in the towns of Cenisa and Cangaza number 661 Indian men and women, of whom 357 are males.

Total, 10,159; men, 5,759. * * *

This city of Santiago has jurisdiction over more districts and Indians than these, but, because they were down the river and not all pacified, it was not possible to visit them.

His lordship, Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory), populated this city in 1558 on Santiago day, which was when he discovered the said territory. The city was settled on the Marañon River, by which river his lordship embarked in canoes for the exploration he made of said river. It was located in a place seven leagues before arriving at the Pongo, which is a pass and boundary made by the sierras and mountains, because from it, down to the Mar del Norte, all is level plain. The natives make use of canoes by means of which they travel on the rivers that are within the territory of this city. There are many of these in proportion to the population and with these canoes they come to the aforementioned city. The land is mountainous and very hot; they do not have herds of llamas and therefore they dress in cotton, of which much grows in said land. Formerly they went about generally unclothed, but now all the men, women and children usually are well clothed, because of this training having come to them. The rivers contain a great quantity of very large fish; even porpoises go up to the aforementioned city from the sea. There is plenty of food, maiz, and roots, and many different kinds of good fruits, and much hunting in the mountains, which are not very rough, such as wild hogs, deer, tapir, and many other game animals, which said Indians kill easily with bows and arrows. There are many very beautiful birds, pauxies and piures (piuriés) and big

2: Stirling--28-31 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-5
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partridges, and many other birds that the Indians domesticate in their houses. There are mines of rock salt and large springs of salty water. They trade this with the Indians on the river below, where salt is not found. They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief, under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cru[illegible] among them, he who formerly commanded them having died. They used to suffer much harm before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them from all the neighboring Indians, because of being very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes, which often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they traveled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains. They had neither rites or ceremonies, but only to be born and to die; and thus they entered the evangelic faith without difficulty, and all in general know prayers and are baptized and receive and ask for the sacraments; for which purpose the newcomers have formed towns and put them in order and neatness so that each town has its church and ornaments and its cabildos and their alcaldes and magistrates, by whom the Indians who commit crimes are taken and brought to justice in said city; and they decide civil cases with all fairness. There are in the territory of this city four clergymen who preach and administer the holy sacrament, each one in accordance with his stipend and salary, which is about 500 pesos of silver for each clergyman without his altar fee and provenciones. They did not have to pay taxes [31] only the things that they took from the natives' lands being useful, and thus they have estimated that there is a certain quantity of food and from each six Indian men of a certain age, they took one so that he might take out gold seven months of the year, whom they call curicamayos; and those who are thus collected together are called cuadrillas, in accordance with the number of Indians that each encomendero has. Some have 20 curicamayos and others 50 or 80 more or less, according to the number; the encomenderos give them for each period or seven months, two vestures, which consist of two mantas and two shirts and the food, salt, meat, maiz, and beans necessary, and they keep them together in their houses with all kindness, and the other five months of each year, they live in their own houses and on their own territory; the curicamayos must be from 14 to 25 years of age, because the others do not travel in search of gold, which gold is taken out of the Cangaza and Iranbiza Rivers in the territories of said city, by which rivers all the natives go to take it out and they carry all their food from their own towns and inns up to the neighborhood of said mines by water and canoes and thus do not burden themselves.

They take out from said rivers each year 20 to 25 thousand pesos. They work the river bed and the flats. It is 23 carat and grain gold. The Spaniards have no other trade or contracts with the natives outside of said city and said mines, where the merchandise is sold publicly.

The said city obtained Castillian things through the city of Jaen, which came up to said city in canoes and by beasts of burden from the city of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba, and they came by land; and from the cities of Cuenca and Loxa came many ordinary Indian natives of the cities of Cuenca and Loxa to said mines with their trade goods looking for barter.

They know that they should respect justice and obey calls and commands, and they come to complain freely of any grievance against their encomenderos and others, when they have been too rigorous in administering justice to them; and the governor and his lieutenants and alcaldes and their judges visit the districts of each city, and the Indians and chiefs come to them freely to recount any small grievance that they might have received. They have knowledge of each particular pertaining to the repairing of the roads and maintaining them and the Royal Inns in which are sold those things necessary for travelers, according to the prices in the book of rates."

2: Stirling--31-33 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

## "THE CITY OF LOYOLA

The city of Loyola of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship aforementioned, who gave the commission to Captain Hernando de Vega, who visited said city and its districts and visited the following Indians:

First, the encomienda of Anton Sanchez del Castillo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Capaparachu, 345 Indian men and women, of whom 185 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Gomez de Rueda, inhabitant of said city, in the town of Cambuco, 320 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The encomienda of Martin Correa, including the towns of Chamanama and Zanlonama, 460 Indian men and women, of whom 264 are males.

The encomienda of Nuño de Monsalve, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Camilache, 434 Indian men and women, of whom 226 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ferel, inhabitant of said city, absent, including the town of Yanachima, 112 Indian men and women, of which 61 are males. [32]

In the encomienda of Captain Francisco Gonzales Montoya, including the towns of Misacandoro and Cutirimi, 332 Indian men and women, of which 196 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Oviedo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Marizana, 269 Indian men and women, of which 148 are males.

2: Stirling--31-33 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 161

In the encomienda of Doña Ines de Estrada, including the town of Calaqui, 413 Indian men and women, of whom 214 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro Gomez Duarte, including the towns of Changoma and Cutirinci (Cutirimi?), 336 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro de Bañuelos, including the towns of Mijanoma and Paima, 229 Indian men and women, of whom 167 are males.

In the encomienda of Jerónimo Ponce, including the town of Ambo, 334 Indian men and women, of whom 212 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando de Orellana, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Namai and Lalanguiche and Tantamora, 316 Indian men and women, of whom 166 are males.

In the encomienda of Gasper de Ortego, including the town of Tanchinama, 328 Indian men and women, of whom 184 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Caballero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Guarindilla, 337 Indian men and women, of whom 192 are males.

In the encomienda of Antonio de Herrera, in the town of Cumbare, 91 Indian men and women, of whom 43 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando Jedeon, including the town of Muchonami, 183 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

2: Stirling--31-33 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
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In the encomienda of Alonso Sanchez, including the town of Marracó, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego de Albarreda, including the town of Caronoma, 168 Indian men and women, of whom 85 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Alonso de Fuentes, including the towns of Zambolama and Manguiche, 258 Indian men and women, of whom 149 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ramos de Larangui (from Carangui?) including the town of Changata, 164 Indian men and women, of whom 86 are males.

In the encomienda of Bartolomé Lopez, including the towns of Pomanga and Lacuemache, 366 Indian men and women, of whom 198 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Nuñez, including the town of Misacho, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 147 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cano, absent, including the town of Caxunguima, 112 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Mixalalangui, which is under Governor Don Gaspar, within its territories 400 Indian men and women, of whom 186 are males.

Total 6,616. * * *

This city of Loyola was settled by his lordship Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory) when he began establishing this government. It is a land of hills and valleys, and the natives all dress in wool, because of possessing a great number of llamas in the terri-

116, 161

tory which have the customary stones (53) in their stomachs. They are a people of equal rights who never were subjects nor do they pay taxes or give tributes. They have chiefs and leaders who lead them as captains in their wars, which they have with one another and kill each other regularly, and thus they establish their settlements in the strongest places, which are now towns formed by the newcomers. They [33] have many drunken feasts and these, as well as the wars among themselves, decimate them. They put herbs of witchcraft in their drinks, with which they kill one another. Gold is taken from all the rivers and more will be found. The Spaniards have discovered exposed mines and veins where gold is now taken out. They do not have in their land anything with which to pay taxes and thus they are taxed by making certain plantations of maiz and roots for the maintenance of their encomenderos and curicamayos, and in every district, according to the number of Indians in it, they give one out of five as he must be a boy of 14 to 25 years of age, who work said mines seven months of the year and the rest they spend on their lands and in their own houses. They do not mill the metal but wash it with troughs for which every year a vesture is given to each Indian. Said mines are about seven leagues distant from said city. They provide them with all necessities. They take out every year in the districts of this city 30 to 35 thousand pesos. It is 42 leagues from the city of Loxa to this city, and 35 from the city of Xaen, and 30 leagues from

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"53. These bezoar stones were considered by both the Spaniards and the Indians as having magical properties."

2: Stirling--31-33 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-5
116, 161

Zamora; and 50 from Santiago, and 18 from Valladolid; this is all broken mountainous country. There are many rivers across the trails and very powerful ones that cannot be forded, and over all of them are bridges of reeds or canes. These Indians do not leave for any trade outside of their native land. They trade among their own towns. There are three clergymen in this city and in its district who preach to them and administer the holy sacrament, 400 pesos of stipened being given to each one. In this land, in order to make their farms, they do not plow the land, but, having cleared an area on the mountainside with axes and burned it over, they sow here the mayz [sic] and roots which they gather three times in fourteen months, because of its being a rainy land, the seasons not being definite, and having many marshes. All the towns have churches and alcaldes and they live in an orderly manner and are intelligent people; and the curicamayos and all are very well treated, because, although in the beginning they made their vestments very short, in order not to hamper them in warfare, now they make them down to their knees. The Spaniards do not mix with them. This city obtains plenty of merchandise from Spain which ordinarily comes from the city of Loxa and which is publicly sold in the city and mines, including cattle and hogs and all necessities."

2: Stirling--33-35 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

## "THE CITY OF VALLADOLID

The city of Valladolid was settled by the aforementioned lordship when he entered to establish this government in 1556, and by his command his captains returned to rebuild it, it having been depopulated and abandoned by the Spaniards at first because of his absence and occupation in his exploration and because of the hardships and wars with the natives, who are very warlike people and who killed many of the Spaniards.

By command of the aforementioned lordship (so be his glory), the Indians within the territories of said city were visited in 1580, although said city and the rest of this government had been visited other times, although not reduced to towns. Pedro Gomez Duarte visited it and found the following number of Indian men and women.

The encomienda of Captain Garcia de Paredes, absent, including the town of Guambuco, 96 Indian men and women, of whom 64 are males.

The encomienda of a minor of Vasco Martin, dead, including the towns of Yanapinga and Yanzame and Ongomanta, 340 Indian men and women, of whom 250 are males. [34]

The encomienda of Captain Hernado de Vega, absent, including the town of Palanda, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 120 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Navarro, including the towns of Tangoraca and Colalayer (?), 160 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

2: Stirling--33-35 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 161

The encomienda of Andres Lopez de Agurto, including the towns of Picuncha and Yaca, 243 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

The encomienda of Juan de Saucedo, including the towns of Tapala, Larinamanta, Callanga, Hongomanta, 263 Indian men and women, of whom 137 are males.

The encomienda of Francisco Magariños, including the towns of Pangora and Gariuba, Colomata, Cananche, 215 Indian men and women, of whom 132 are males.

The encomienda of Alvaro Camacho, including the worns of Zamayoc, Yuminche, and Mohoche, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 100 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Aldrete, including the towns of Licaroma and Yarami, 228 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Ximenez Magariño, including the towns of Zacapo and La Rinconada, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 106 are males.

The encomienda of Diego Alvarez, including the towns of Misalanchi, Posirimi, Quichiparra, Yangonama, 176 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Elvira Montero, including the towns of Yumba and Yambamba, Curpa, and Paco, 178 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

The encomienda of Aldonza Martín, minor, including the towns of Tacanambe and Pacamari, 120 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Culichima, with the others of Captain Juan Navarro, 108 Indian men and women, of whom 50 are males.

2: Stirling--33-35 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 161

Total, 2,975; males, 1,560. * * *

The natives of this city of Valladolid live on slopes and defensible places, because of being warlike people and people of complete equality, and, as they say, they have many times defeated the captains of the Inca who entered to subject them. Their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, and stones and axes and javelins. They do not have chiefs, but the most courageous is chosen as leader, and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs. They formerly clothed themselves with wool from the llamas, although the clothing was very abbreviated; now they travel and are dressed in all good taste. They work their land with plows (taclIas) and the richest ones have the best plantations because some 100 Indian men and 100 Indian women are collected together to plow and they turn back the land to them (the rich ones). They work until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance, and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because after they had sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought about others.

Gold is found in all the rivers and in three of them which are very great, it is found everywhere and the Spaniards have discovered mines and veins in the hills which are worked separately, although, the working of them is very difficult because of the lack of

2: Stirling--33-35 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 161

natives at present, for, in addition to those used up by the drunken feasts that they have, many of the younger Indians having lost their parents have left and gone to the cities of nearby Peru, and since those remaining did not have in their land anything to give as tribute they were taxed in the same manner as the rest by giving to their [35] encomenderos, curicamayos, and making plantations for them. There are two priests in this city and its territory and one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the natives. The encomenderos pay the priest of the natives and they give the priest of the Spaniards 300 pesos out of the royal treasury. They do not breed any kind of stock in this land except cattle. Wheat is raised, although the crops are frequently lost. It is about 5 leagues from the Cordillera and 18 from the city of Loxa."

2: Stirling--35-36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

## "THE CITY OF SANTA MARIA DE LAS NIEVES

His lordship ordered this city established in order to satisfy those who had not been given an encomienda of Indians in the city of Santiago de Las Montañas, which is on the Marañon River in the direction of the city of Chachapoyas de Moyobamba. Captain Joan Navarro de Beaumonte visited this city by command of the aforementioned lordship in 1580, although it had been visited and examined before. From this visit it appears to have the following number of Indian men and women.

In the towns of Titibupata and Ticancama, encomienda of Luis Darmas, inhabitant of said city, 369 Indian men and women, of whom 230 are males.

In the town of Bambaro, encomienda of Juan Izquierdo, 297 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the towns of Curagurapa and Cociata, encomienda of Juan Gonzales, 103 Indian men and women, of whom 55 are males.

In the town of Yungagones, encomienda of Juan Diaz, 150 Indian men and women, of whom 83 are males.

In the town of La Cordillera, encomienda of Francisco Bustamente, 341 Indian men and women, of whom 190 are males.

In the town of Chichicaza, encomienda of Pedro Vello, 213 Indian men and women, of whm 117 are males.

2: Stirling--35-36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 161

In the town of Yauinare, encomienda of Bartolmé Mendez, 223 Indian men and women, of whom 116 are males.

In the town of Zangona, encomienda of Pedro Sanchez, 283 Indian men and women, of whom 125 are males.

In the towns of Yuniangones and Zagazagas, encomienda of Garci Gonzalez, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

In the town of Palenque, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz, 123 Indian men and women, of whom 63 are males.

In the towns of Cangaza and Tugurogones, 240 Indian men and women, of whom 156 are males. It is the encomienda of Juan de Saldaña, inhabitant of said city.

In the town of Chingama, encomienda of Benito Gil, 232 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

In the town of Catarima, encomienda of Doña Francisca Valera, 262 Indian men and women, of whom 153 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 52 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 66 are males. [sic]

Total, 2,427; males, 1,332. * * *

2: Stirling--35-36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 161

The land and territories of this city of Nieva [sic] is mountainous and of the same temperature and nature as that of Santiago. It developed that gold was not to be found in the territories of this city and therefore cotton clothes were made there by the order and measure that the curicamayos of the other[36] cities gave them, and the encomenderos gave them spinning wheels and cotton and other things necessary for making said clothes. For their work they paid said Indians their vestuaries. In the territories of this city, there is a sierra and range that is all salt. It is situated 30 leagues from the city of Santiago, the Marañon River being in between, and thus the Indians have suffered greatly from the wars made on them by the neighboring Indians on the river below. It is a fertile land, productive of maiz and other roots, which they plant on the mountains. There are two clergymen, one of whom administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians as in the rest of the towns. They are a very settled people, like those of the Santiago. They are all orderly and well behaved. They do not have treaties.or contracts with the Spaniards."

2: Stirling--36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

## " SEVILLA DEL ORO--LOGROÑO

In this government was established the city of Sevilla del Oro in the territory of Macas, which city, because of the few people settled there and also because of the natives not being in servitude and of suitable temperament, has not been visited in order to be divided into towns. It is a mountainous land which adjoins the province of the Quijos, by the royal road with the seat of Riobamba. It is a land where gold is found and taken out, although, because of the Indians not being settled, cuadrillas have not been ordered. The land produces much cotton and much food. There are likewise two clergymen there, of whom one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians, as in the other cities.

The other city which is populated halfway between this city of Sevilla and that of Santiago, is the city of Logroño de los Caballeros. They are a very warlike people and have killed a great number of Spaniards and every day they kill them. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and ravines, all of which in general have gold, and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits they can obtain and which the land promises. They tried to take out gold and with a great deal of difficulty, took out almost 30,000 pesos the first year, which they had to spend in subsistence and necessities, dividing it into lots of five for the neighboring cities, which is the reason they did not give any profits to Your Majesty.

2: Stirling--36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jicaro-2
116, 161

because of not having any other industries in the land but the mines, and thus not having any other profit; and thus there are no military officers or town officers or secretaries there; because first it is necessary to find someone who would like to organize it after the manner of the governments of the other cities. Because of not having anything else to say concerning them, it is unnecessary to enlarge the account more.

In the city of Valladolid, December 1, 1582.

JUAN ALDRETE.

By command of the Governor,
JOAN PIZARRO,
Public Secretary."

2: Stirling--36-38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

'Thus we find the combined population of the districts of Santiago and Santa Maria de Las Nievas was 12,586, of which number 7,091 were males. The region enumerated under Santiago evidently included the Zamora basin and the upper Santiago River. That of Nieve apparently included the lower Santiago and the Alto Marañon above the Pongo Manseriche. Because of their hostility at the time, [37] no census was taken of the Jivaros occupying the Upano basin. Apparently no record was made of the inhabitants of the Morona and Pastaza. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the figure given represents considerably less than one-half of the total Jivaro population at the time.

In the year 1599 it was said that 20,000 Jivaros joined in the attack against Logroño. (54) There can be little doubt that this figure is exaggerated, but judging from the partial census of Salinas, the Jivaro population in the last quarter of the sixteenth century must have totaled more than 30,000.

It is not easy to obtain an accurate estimate of the complete number of Jivaros at the present time. Delgado gave a census for the Upano basin and the upper Morona of 3,151 Jivaros, of whom 600 were men old enough to fight. Ten years previously this same group was said to have had 2,000 fighting men. (55) At the same time there were said to be 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries. (56)

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"54. Velasco, t.III, p.152.
55. Delgado, p. 413.
56. Colección cartas domínicas. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 357."

2: Stirling--36-38 (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro-2
116, 161

In 1907 the Salesians estimated that the Jivaro population in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza was 9,790. It is not clear upon what data this figure is based and it appears likely that it is in excess of the true number occupying this region at the time.

In 1905 Von Hassel gives us the following figures: Aguarunas, 2,000 to 2,500; Antipas, 2,000; Huambisas, 800 to 1,000.

Taking this estimate for the lower Jivaro country, Rivet admits a total population of 20,000, which number, using the proportions of Vacas Galindo, would include 4,000 fighting men.

There can be no doubt that the population has diminished considerably since the time of the conquest. The decrease of population in the Upano during the decade from 1880 to 1890 was more than 50 percent, according to Vacas Galindo.

In the year 1888 there were 172 Jivaros at Capahuari and 83 at Copataza. The next year the combined populations of these two communities was only 100 after a war had taken place. (57)

The present writer has mentioned a similar instance where the Jivaro population of the upper Yaupe and Canga Rivers was almost exterminated between the years 1925 and

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"57. Vacas Galindo 'Nankijukima,' p. 184."

2: Stirling--36-38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 161

1930 as the result of repeated war raids. This sort of thing has been of regular occurrence throughout the Jivaro territory and has been without doubt an important factor in holding down the population. Smallpox has been an even greater factor in reducing the number of Indians at various [38] times. The combination of disease and warfare would probably have brought about the virtual extinction of the Jivaros had it not been for the fact that women are not habitually killed in war raids. Thus the polygynous customs of the Jivaros tend to keep the birth rate higher than wartime casualties would seem to warrant.

Although the Jivaros are probably the largest tribe inhabiting the Amazon basin, owing to the large extent of their territory they are spread out so thinly that the population is evidently not much more than one to the square mile."

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

> were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

> They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

> They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 175, 721

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

2: Stirling--38-39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 592, 624

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household]consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--39 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 554

"The power of the curaka [KS: head of the household] is purely advisory and is confined to warfare. He had no authority to order men against their will for any purpose, even that of fighting. The curaka has no special insignia denoting rank and has no special privileges, other than the prestige which his position gives him. He holds his position only as long as he retains his personal influence with the group. Realinements of household groups are frequent as leaders lose prestige or die."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

2: Stirling--40 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 701, 721

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuhi, known to the Ecuadoreans as *José Grande*. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuhi was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cocusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

2: Stirling--40 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 701, 721

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

2: Stirling--41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

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"At the present time the Jivaros are without doubt the most warlike group in all South America, and it is probable that this statement would hold true for the past century. In this respect, however, they have merely retained a custom and a war pattern that was widespread in northwestern South America at the time of the conquest."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

2: Stirling--41-42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The type of warfare which enabled them to maintain their liberty against the European invaders was, however, considerably different [42] from the internecine fighting which they have always maintained among themselves. It involved the temporary alliance in a common cause of several groups of natural enemies who laid aside their personal feuds until their purpose was accomplished. The success of the great revolt of 1899 is probably due primarily to the fact that in the person of Quiruba the Jivaros found an exceptional leader in a time of need."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

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"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

2: Stirling--43 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains."(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

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"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

2: Stirling--43 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 721

together. (60)

"Juan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

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"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.
61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 721

are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends; and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

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"64. Lucero, p. 27."

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation; each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer; their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
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> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail; a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

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"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

2: Stirling--47-48 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name Cocarama,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of Copataza was annihilated, and at the same time the town of Palma in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bonboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

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"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, Cocarama."

2: Stirling--47-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 721

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and sprit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christians of the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the same fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered this conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the Pongo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalico and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

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"Prieto, in Compte, pp. 65-66."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

2: Stirling--50[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natema. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

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"70. *Banisteria caapi*."

2: Stirling--51 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 721, 866

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2; Stirling--51 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 727, 864

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

2: Stirling--51 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 648

"The Jivaros usually attempt to maintain a spy system in all of the groups with which they have contact. Spying is a dangerous mission as it is common knowledge among the tribes that the others, as well as themselves, maintain a system of espionage. When a spy learns something which he thinks his group should know, under the pretense of going hunting, he notifies his friends. Cases have been known when a Jivaro has betrayed his own group in return for a girl or a gun."

2: Stirling--51-52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"Sometimes both sides in a feud become weary of the fighting and the affair is officially terminated by means of a peace ceremony during which a lance is buried. The actual interring of the lance is done by the wishinu, who goes into the forest at night and buries it in a spot known only to himself. The lance is supposed to carry with it the animosity of the feud. Unfortunately, it usually hap-[52]pens that all of the ill feeling is not buried, so that generally it is not long before some event transpires which causes the feud to break out anew."

2: Stirling-- 52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"War is declared with a ceremony in which the lance is officially disinterred and carried into the jivaría. Immediately following this ceremony, an emissary is sent to notify the enemy. Following the conclusion of the ceremony, which may last for 24 hours, the attacking party leaves on its mission. Occasionally the enemy, after being notified, immediately launches a counter attack. However, the ethics of Jivaro warfare require that they too must sent an emissary in advance in such a case.

As a rule, while the ceremony is being launched, a messenger is sent out to notify all of the allies and friends. This messenger runs to the nearest jivaría carrying a lance which is relayed to another messenger from that jivaría, who in turn passes it on to the next, until in this manner all of the friendly houses have been notified, which fact is signaled by the return of the lance over the same route to its starting place. Each messenger, upon arrival, delivers a warlike talk, attempting to incite the occupants of the household to a desire to accompany the expedition. He tells of the strength that can be mustered, of the bright prospects for victory and of the glory and prestige to be gained by those participating in the fight. By the time the lance returns with the recruits the attacking party know what their strength will be and plan their tactics accordingly.

Any individual may be the instigator of such a raid, which follows some supposed hostile action on the part of the enemy, as described before."

2: Stirling--52 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"During the lance ceremony much nijimanche is drunk, warlike songs are sung, threats are made against the enemy, and the wrongs that have been suffered are rehearsed. All of the relatives of the wronged person assemble and take an active part in the ceremony. In the dances accompanying the ceremony only lances are carried, the guns being kept apart. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chonta palm, of which the lances are made, contains tsarutama; those made entirely of chonta wood possessing more supernatural power than the lances with iron heads. The lances are frequently decorated with markings which indicate the fierce spirits whose power they contain."

2: Stirling--52-53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The emissary, who is sent out to notify the enemy that the lance ceremony has taken place, is always one of the most able warriors, as this is a rather dangerous mission requiring considerable skill, owing to the pitfalls and set-guns which he is likely to encounter when approaching the enemy's habitation. However, the messenger is rarely killed. In the event that he should be killed, the wishinu, [53] under the influence of natima, is supposed to get in touch with his spirit and receive his advices in this manner. Sometimes, instead of notifying the enemy verbally, a head is fashioned out of manioc or mud, in the form of a tsantsa, or some animal head is placed on the point of a lance and set up near the house to be attacked, in a place where it is sure to be seen."

2: Stirling--53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes natima. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

2: Stirling--53 [3]    (1930-1931) 1938    Jivaro
116, 726

"At dawn the dance ends and the warriors prepare to leave. Each man is accompanied by a woman bearing nijimanche in earthenware jars. From this time until the beginning of the attack no one speaks except the curaka, who does so only to give the necessary orders and advice. Only the curaka bids farewell to the women remaining in the house; the others are silent. They leave the house in single file, each man followed by a woman. The curaka is the last to leave and he brings up the rear of the file at all times on the march. When all of the war party have started the curaka closes the door of the house.

As soon as the party has gone the women remaining in the house begin to dance and sing songs of victory, meanwhile playing the small drum. This is continued until the return of the warriors. With the women are the old men and children and any others who may be incapacitated for the fight."

2: Stirling--54-55 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 726

"When the attacking party arrives in enemy territory they walk carefully without making a sound or breaking a twig. Walking in single file, each steps exactly in the footprints of the person ahead. They do not travel on the trails but keep well to one side in order to avoid pitfalls, spring traps, and set-guns. As they approach the enemy house their presence usually is made known by the dogs, which have been posted for this purpose. The approach is made in the dark, as the attack is usually made just at dawn.

The people within the house, expecting the enemy, have kept the fires down and the house dark. When they become aware of the attackers lurking about, the defenders join hands within the house and commence a dance to the music of a flute made from the leg bone of a jaguar, which is supposed to carry with it the magical fighting force of the animal it represents. As they dance, they sing songs of defiance. The enemy are accused of being cowards, while at the same time they extol their own bravery, predicting that because of fear the attackers will run away.

Hearing these taunts, the attackers are made still more angry. They reply in similar vein, contradicting the statements of the defenders. Frequently some of the attackers, who are not particularly strong-hearted, become frightened and return home. There does not seem to be much stigma attached to such an action but it adds nothing to their prestige.

The statements and conversation exchanged on these occasions are reduced by custom to rather definite formulae. A typical exchange goes much like this: Defenders--'Come!

Come! We have the power of jaguars. The anaconda is with us also!"--then they shoot their guns in the direction of the enemy, saying, "Take this--and this! We have plenty of ammunition! Go away! Go away! Take nijimanche in your own house!" They whistle shrilly. The attackers reply, firing their guns in the direction of the house, saying: "No! No! We will take nijimanche in your house! We prefer it right here!"

If the attacking party feels that they are outnumbered, or if they are short of ammunition, the attack is not made directly but they will lay siege to the house, concealing themselves and firing at intervals, sometimes for as long as a week, until the defenders run short of water and food. The *Jivaros* rarely have the foresight to provide themselves with these commodities in sufficient quantities to withstand a siege. During the siege, if anyone tries to leave the house, they are, of course, fired upon. The besieging party are tended by their women, who bring them food and nijimanche. When the defenders have used up the last of their food and drink, an old woman or a boy is sent out to see if the besieging party is still [55] around. As a rule, this individual is not molested because the attackers prefer the defenders to think that they have deserted.

The attackers frequently resort to the stratagem of pretending to go away, sending some of their men to fire shots at a distance who then quietly sneak back to their places. It is usually after such a ruse that the investigator is sent out. When nothing happens, the women leave the house to gather food in the chacra and to get more water. At the

2: Stirling--54-55 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 726

moment the women have left the house the attackers make a rush for the door. Sometimes they pretend to run away and those in the house run out after them. After allowing themselves to be chased until the defenders are well clear of the house they turn about suddenly and the fight is held in the open.

Another ruse utilized by a force which is outnumbered is for its various members to run rapidly here and there over a long line, firing in as many different places as possible and shouting things calculated to indicate the presence of a large force. This stratagem is usually employed by a small group of men who have been attacked in the woods by a large party.

Under normal conditions the attacking party will consider themselves of equal or superior strength to the defending party. As soon as the first light of dawn begins the exchange of taunts ceases and the attack is begun. The assault is made with as much rapidity as possible, the attackers shouting loudly in order to bolster up their own courage and at the same time to terrify the enemy. As the house is rushed, guns are thown aside and only lances are used. Once the house is entered, a scene of great confusion transpires. The dogs are barking, women screaming and crying, the fighters shouting, the old men pleading for protection and shouting advice to their defenders. Children under 7 years of age are lanced and thrown aside. All of the men possible are killed, as are the old women. Only the young and desirable women are spared. Young women are also killed if they take too active a part in the combat. The attacking party always at-

2: Stirling--54-55 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 726

tempts to kill the wishinu first. They fear his power and their confidence is greatly increased when he has been eliminated."

2: Stirling--55-96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 602

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

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"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

2: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"They march back bearing the heads with them until at a distance where they are presumbably safe from pursuit. Here a camp and a temporary shelter is erected, usually on a sand bar in the river, and the preparation of the tsantsas is begun. This process requires approximately 20 hours; 12 hours for the preparation of the heads and 8 hours for smoking them. As soon as the camp has been made the heads are taken from the baskets and the leaf wrappings are removed.

A slit is made vertically in the back of the neck and each head is skinned as a skin is removed entire from a rabbit. Then any meat [57] adhering to the inside is scraped off and a fine piece of Chambira (72) fiber is used to fasten the eyelids shut. The skin is then reversed so that it is in its original position, the head forming a sack with the neck as the opening. Three pins of chonta wood are thrust through the lips so as to hold the mouth closed evenly and string is wrapped over them on the outside so as to insure the lips remaining in position during the succeeding operations.

A large earthenware pot is then half filled with water. In this is placed the juice from a parasitic vine called *chinchipi*. This mixture is brought to the point of boiling and the head placed in it for two hours. The astringent qualities of the chinchipi, according to the Jivaros, prevent the hair from falling out. At the end of this time the head, reduced to about one-third of its original size, is fished from the pot. It is well cooked, the skin very thick and of a rubbery consistency and pale yellow in color. As a rule, nothing is done to the eyes, although sometimes a large red-and-black seed is placed under each lid

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72. *Astrocaryum tucuma*.

8: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 727

to bulge them out slightly. At this time, when the head has cooled sufficiently to handle, the slit up the back of the neck is neatly sewed up.

While the head is cooking the operator collects from the beach a series of rounded stones, scaled in size so as to fit the neck orifice during the further shrinking process. These stones are placed in the fire so as to be thoroughly heated when the head is taken from the pot. The operator then holds the head in the palm of one hand with the neck up end, picking up the largest of the heated stones with the aid of a pair of sticks, he drops it into the cavity inside the head. He then begins rotating the head rapidly in his hand so that the stone rolls around continuously inside the cavity. The hot rock give off a sizzling sound as it contacts the wet skin and a smell like that of burnt leather.

While this is going on the operator picks up another small stone with his free hand and with it smooths out the features, keeping them as nearly as possible in a natural position. As soon as the rock inside has cooled somewhat it is removed and another freshly heated one substituted, smaller rocks being used as the head continues to shrink and harden from the drying-out process. During the procedure the external smoothing of the features is continued. This goes on for 2 or 3 hours, when the head has become reduced to a minimum. From time to time hair is plucked from the head and eyebrows and eyelashes so as to keep the hair in proportion to the other features.

As a final process, hot sand is used in place of the heated stones, the head being about half filled at each application; this penetrates [58] into crevices and completes the desiccation of any niches within the head. About evening the shrinking process is completed. The reduction of the features makes the fine facial hairs or down very prominent. At this stage the operator singes off most of this fuzz with an improvised torch, being careful not to damage the eyebrows and eyelashes.

Frequently the base of the neck is sewed around with fiber. This being done, the crown of the head is perforated and a loop of string is passed through and attached to a small transverse piece of chonta wood on the inside. By this the head is hung from a rack about 3 feet above the fire. Here it remains all night over a smudge, being heated and smoked.

The men do not go to sleep but lie before the fire with their feet over a rack as they sleep on their beds at home, warming their feet over the fire at the same time that the heads are being dried. The smoke changes the color of the heads from yellow to black, and the final drying process makes them very hard.

As a last procedure, the heads are polished with a piece of cloth, much as one would shine a shoe.

At dawn a young man is sent to the village to report the victory and the number of tsantsas which have been prepared, whereupon the women in the jivaría prepare to receive them. For each head that has been taken a fowl is killed and a bowl prepared. The heads of the fowls are cut off and the blood is drained into each bowl. In the same way a bowl filled with sua is prepared, one for each head.

While these preparations are being made the victorious party bearing the tsantsas are on their way home. As they approach the house each victor suspends his tsantsa around his neck. When they arrive they enter the house and each man having a tsantsa sticks his lance into the ground, butt down, the tsantsa being placed on the point of the lance. The women, wives or female relatives of the victors, then come up bearing the bowls of blood and sua and, while the men are standing in this position, the right leg of each is painted in spots with the blood from one bowl, while the left leg is similarly spotted black from the sua of the other bowl.

Following this, the men go to their various beds, the women following them with the two bowls. Here each man sits down and smears blood on his chest and arms, saying that this blood is the blood of his victims. When this has been done, all of the party drink nijimanche and partake of food.

Then begins a celebration of a very warlike nature, during which they dance around the tsantsas, brandishing lances and dramatizing the killing of the victims. During the dance the captured women stand by weeping. This is apparently such an important part of [59] the ceremony that, if no women have been captured, proxies are appointed from their own women to weep for each tsantsa. The dance continues all day, terminating at dark with much singing and drinking of fermented nijimanche. As soon as the dance is finished

2: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-8
116, 727

each tsantsa is wrapped in cloth, placed in an old earthenware jar, and either put over the man's bed or buried in the floor of the house.

Each man who has taken a head now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the victors never go out hunting alone."

"The Jivaro house is generally constructed with an eye to defense. As a rule, a house is erected in a small clearing, one side of which either faces a steep mountainside or a river bank. The walls of the house are constructed of poles or slats set vertically in the ground and as close together as possible. The house has a door at each end, made by placing hewn planks side by side in a vertical position so that when closed both the upper and lower ends are fitted into a slot. In order to open the door, these planks are lifted up so that the lower ends come out of the slot and the butts are set to one side so as to make an entrance in the shape of an inverted V. These doors can be barred from the inside.

If a jivaría has reason to suspect that an attack is impending a palisade of balsa logs is set up around the house with small loopholes here and there between the posts to serve for observation and to shoot through. The walls of the house itself are reinforced on the inside with posts about 5 feet high. At intervals along the trails leading to the house strong saplings are bent back, attached with strings leading across the trail with trap releases. Spears are attached to these saplings so that when the string is stepped against, the sapling will react as a catapult, launching the spear into the body of the person releasing the trap. Deadfalls with pointed chonta sticks on the bottoms are dug at various strategic points. Frequently a trench with the bottom covered with chonta points in this fashion is dug entirely around the house. Great pains are taken to cover this nat-

2: Stirling--59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 712

urally, so as to make its location difficult to detect. Loaded guns with strings attached to the triggers are also set up here and there along the trails in the manner of the spear-catapults. Sometimes houses which are built near a river bank have concealed tunnels leading from inside the house through the bank to the edge of the river through which they can excape or send out messengers if badly pressed."

2: Stirling--60 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 712

"On the Casu, a tributary of the Apaga River, were two large abandoned jivarías, both strongly fortified by means of an inner wall 6 or 8 inches from the main wall standing about 5 feet in height, the intervening space being filled with small boulders gathered from the river bed, thus affording an excellent barricade in case of attack. Just off the end of the building which was evidently considered least vulnerable there was a small room barely 15 feet square which was protected on all sides in the same manner, but was raised about 20 feet from the ground, supported by four stout posts and placed conveniently near the little door of the main building so that one could at once step on a notched tree trunk and climb to safety, throwing the ladder away. These places are used for the safety of women and children in times of raiding and as a final refuge. Should the enemy try to climb to the hut, a shower of rocks is dropped down upon them, a supply being kept ready for that purpose. Climbing into one of these curious towers, it was found to have convenient niches in order that the occupants could command a complete view of the clearing on all sides and any Indian being fortunate enough to own a rifle and ammunition could easily hold at bay a strong force. However, the purpose of the structure is primarily as a protection for the women while the male occupants of the jivaría fight the enemy with their lances and shields."

2: Stirling- 60 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 202

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--60 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 411

"The blowgun is never used in warfare and, as has already been mentioned, only lances are utilized in the hand-to-hand fighting in the house.

Poison is never used in warfare because of the fact that it was given to men for the purpose of hunting game and to use it for fighting would be to offend the spirits. Force only is supposed to be used in killing enemies in war."

2: Stirling--60-61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"As soon as notification has been received of an impending attack, dogs are tied up all around the clearing. If, while awaiting attack, a dog barks or growls, an old woman is sent out to investigate. When the attack takes place, if the defending party is victorious, they, of course, kill as many of the attackers as they can and, when the remainder have been routed, they will follow them into the woods in the hope of killing more. They do not, however, conduct a raid to the attackers' house. After the attackers have been thoroughly routed the defending party return to their own house, where tsantsas are prepared from the heads of the enemy who have been killed and a consequent celebration is held. While this is going on the wishinu takes natima in order to find out when the enemy will reorganize and [61] reattack, for the vanquished, by virtue of their defeat, have that much added to the vengeance which it is required of them to take, and, if possible, they will later make another attempt, usually with redoubled vigor."

2: Stirling--61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 72

"The desire or obligation of revenge is the principal cause of war. This may happen as a direct act of reprisal brought about by the killing of one member of a group by another; it may also come about as a result of women stealing or adultery. Perhaps the most common cause is the death of a member of the tribe which presumably has been brought about by the magic of the wishinu of another tribe. The Jivaro wishinu is supposed to have the power of sending death to anyone whom he desires. As a result, many deaths from illness or natural causes are laid to this source."

3: Stirling--61 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 172

"Of all the accomplishments of the Jivaros, their custom of shrinking and preserving human heads has most caught the popular imagination. In spite of the fact that the general method of preparing these trophies haabeen known for centuries, the legend persists that it is a most mysterious and carefully guarded secret.

The Jivaros themselves make no mystery of their methods, although they may be reluctant at first to speak of it in a personal connection, because of their suspicion of the possible motives of the white interrogator. The early descriptions of the methods used in preparing tsantsas are lacking in detail, while the majority of the many given in more recent years have obviously been based on the garbled second-hand accounts received from mestizos and missionaries living on the borders of the Jivaro country. Because of the interest in this subject I have thought it worth while to devote to it a special chapter.

Far from being an art developed only among themselves, it seems very clear that the Jivaros are the last group to retain what was, at the time of the first white contact, a widespread custom in northwestern South America."

2: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*

116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] *Jivaros*.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cuzco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

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"73. Uhle, p. 263.

74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.

75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.

76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

2: Stirling- 62-63 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantsa (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and out through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and skewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to skewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

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"77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

2: Stirling--62-63 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 171, 727

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

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"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

2: Stirling--63-64 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

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"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

2: Stirling--63-64 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 171, 727

Pachacuti states further that Yupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

2: Stirling--64-65 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attacked to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

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"81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques."

2: Stirling- 64-65 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 171, 727

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

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"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1868, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

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"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Peru, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

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"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

2: Stirling--65-66 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*-3
116, 171, 727

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the *Jivaro* country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the *Jivaros* of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1

116, 175, 727

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says

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"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

In their wars these *Jivaros* are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

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" 93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 361."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

> The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maiz's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

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"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says:

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"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

> There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.
>
> How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year. (98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru. (99)

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"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found. (1)"

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"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

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"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

2: Stirling--72-73 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 773, 727

"In the origin myth of the Jivaros, Uñushi, the sloth, is represented as the first Jivaro and, when the original blood revenge feud took place, the sons of Mika and Ahimbi cut off Uñushi's head and from it made the first tsantsa. (4)

The writer had an opportunity of witnessing a portion of a ceremony of this nature at the jivaría of Cahaka on the lower Upano River. Several years previously one of the wives of Nakata, a brother of Cahaka, was persuaded by a man of the Achuales tribe by the name of Ungucha to run away with him. Nakata followed them to Ungucha's jivaría, where he succeeded in killing Ungucha and recapturing his wife, whom he brought back with him. As she had been an accomplice in the affair, he cut off her ears and her nose and then with a machete cut off both her hands before the other women in the jivaría as an example to them, and he threw the body into the river.

Ungucha was a relative of Nakata, for which reason his head was not taken at the time of his assassination. After several years had elapsed Nakata killed a sloth and the ceremony was performed in Cahaka's jivaría. In general, the ceremony is very similar to the regular tsantsa feast, except that the head is shrunk in the jivaría [73] and the ceremony of leg painting is omitted. In this instance the sloth was prepared during the night in Cahaka's house, where it was hung from a pole. A large number of visitors were

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"4. See p. 128."

2: Stirling--72-73 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 773, 727

present, representing numerous jivarías in the vicinity, including some who had been enemies as a result of the killing of Ungucha. Enough time had elapsed that these had temporarily at least become friends.

The head was hung over the fire from a lance, the butt of which was planted diagonally in the ground. The ceremony lasted for 4 days until the food and nijimanche was exhausted. Cahaka, as head of the household, played the large wooden drum, while Nakais played the small drum or tambo. At the conclusion of the ceremony the head was placed in a closed basket and hung from the rafters of the house. Shortly afterwards the writer secured this head (pl. 33)."

2: Stirling--73 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 552

"Apparently the term uchuchi, the ceremonial name for the sloth, is properly used for trophies of this sort. When on the Chinganaza River, we inquired at one of the *jivarías* if they had uabi tsantsas. Uabi being the regular *Jivaro* word for sloth, the Indians corrected us, saying not to call them that but to refer to them as uchuchis. This same distinction between common and ceremonial names is encountered in numerous instances. Thus the common name for lance is nangi, while the chonta war lance charged with tsarutama is referred to as chingi. Ordinary pottery vessels are called by various names according to their use, but the ceremonial nijimanche vessels are called muits. The common name for the goatsucker is auhu, whereas, when mentioned in his mythological connections, he is referred to as aishiru."

2: Stirling--73-75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 825

'There are evidently other occasions when animal heads other than those of the sloth are prepared in the manner of tsantsas. Karsten refers to an instance when a woman on the Zamora was killed by a jaguar. Her relations killed a jaguar in retaliation and shrunk its head. (5)

Homer Eamigh told the writer of having witnessed the ceremonial preparation of a condor's head in a jivaría, on the Upano, but unfortunately did not inquire as to the circumstances.

When we were on the lower Santiago we had with us a number of Jivaros from the Yaupe River who killed a Matasapi, one of the large monkeys of this region. We requested one of these Indians, who was said to be the most expert in the art, to make a tsantsa of [74] its head. He complied with our request and we were able to watch the process in detail.

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"5. Often deaths in the jungle are attributed to the supernatural action of the jaguar. The writer was told on the Chinganasa of a boy who had recently been killed by a jaguar. Further inquiry developed the fact that he had fallen from a tree while retrieving a monkey shot with a poisoned dart. The 'jaguar' had caused a limb to break, thus killing the boy. In the same manner a Jivaro will say that a person or persons were 'eaten by an anaconda' when actually they had drowned in the river after the canoe was upset by 'Pangi.'"

2: Stirling--73-75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 825

First he cut the two muscles which run down from the base of the neck along the top of the shoulder. These were both cut through at about the center of the shoulders. Then he selected a point at the top of the sternum, making an incision and bringing the cut in wide curves on either side from this point until it joined the cuts which he had made on top of the shoulders. A similar cut was then made in the back. When the skin had been cut completely around he lifted it up and severed the neck at a point just below the chin.

Then, making a small vertical incision in the back of the neck and part way up the rear of the head, he extracted the skull by literally peeling off the skin, taking great pains that none of the face should be torn and easing the process along by using a small knife. When the skull had been removed the skin of the head and face resembled an empty sack with holes where the eyes and mouth had been and a wrinkled portion where the nose bones had been removed. The ears were left attached.

The skin was then put into a pot partially filled with water which was brought almost to a boil. From time to time he lifted out the skin by the hair to see how it was progressing. After being immersed in the hot water for about 10 minutes he removed it, as he did not desire to shrink it too much. By this time its size had decreased approximately one-fourth.

With his fingers he then picked the loose flesh from the lips and face, much in the manner that one would pick off the dead skin from a mild case of sunburn. Then, putting his hand inside the head, he carefully cleaned it of any clinging flesh that still remained inside. This being done, he placed it back in the pot for about a minute in order to wash off the loose sections of skin.

Again removing the head, he skewered the lips together with three splinters of palm wood placed completely through the lips in a vertical position. He next took a length of chambira fiber and laced around the splinters, thus binding the lips firmly together. Then he inserted a hot stone just large enough to enter the neck orifice, rolling the head about in his hands in such a manner as to thoroughly sear the inside of the skin. After the rock had cooled off somewhat he removed it and inserted another one which had been freshly heated, repeating the process. With his fingers and a smooth pebble he molded and smoothed over the face.

Next he pierced the crown of the head with a heavy splinter of palm wood and ran a cord of chambira fiber through the opening thus formed. With this he hung the head from a stick so that it was about 2 feet above the fire, which by this time was blazing very little, so that the smoke from the fire curled up around the head. He [75] also placed a number of green leaves on the fire in order to produce a smudge. After allowing it to smoke in this manner for about an hour he removed it, carefully wiped it off, and, using a small bone awl, very carefully and neatly selvaged the rim of the neck with chambira fiber. The head was then considered complete.

While this was no doubt an abbreviated method of making a tsantsa, particularly since

2: Stirling--73-75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 825

he did not desire to make the head extremely small, it probably represents approximately the technique employed in preparing a human head."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--75 [2] (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro
116, 769

"According to Anguasha, the Jivaros gave much more thought to harm that might come to them through the ill will of neglected relatives than they did to the revengeful actions of enemy ghosts. At the time fathers instruct their young sons in their duties along these lines they recount the killings that their enemies have perpetrated and urge them to take revenge whenever the opportunity affords, saying that if they do so the spirits of their dead relatives will be pleased and will bring good crops and good luck to them, but that if they neglect doing so these same spirits will be angry and will bring them corresponding misfortune."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 769

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

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"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 769

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

J: Stirling--76-77 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*

116, 439, 727

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the *Jivaro* country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where *Jivaro* techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [??]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

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"7. Philippi, 1872b, p.363.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp.519-523, pl.IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

2: Stirling--77-78 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 439

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p. 80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

2: Stirling--77-78 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 439

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

2: Stirling--78-79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 411

"A study of the weapons used by the Jivaros in warfare and in hunting indicated that interesting changes have taken place since the Spaniards first entered their country. Benavente, in 1540, speaks of the first group of Indians that he encountered in the Jivaro country, [79] probably on the Paute River, as being armed with lances and round shields. Later, at the point where he terminated his penetration, he encountered another considerable group of Indians which he described as being dressed in camisetas and mantas. He says these Indians were armed with slings and shot at the Spaniards with bows and arrows. From this general description I believe that there might be some doubt as to these latter being Jivaros.

Salinas, writing in 1571 (second letter), says that the Indians in the vicinity of Santiago have copper axes, (13) shields made of tapir skin and of wood, and spear throwers.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 of the Jivaros of the Santiago, says that they hunt game with the bow and arrow. Speaking of the Indians of Valladolid, western neighbors of the Jivaros, he says that their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, stones, axes, and javelins. The stones very probably refer to the use of slings.

Salinas says that the Mainas, eastern neighbors of the Jivaros, for their arms have darts, shields, throwing rods with spear throwers, and wooden clubs (macanas) made of palm wood. There has been no reference to the use of clubs by the Jivaros.

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"13. The author found two archeological specimens of copper axes on the lower Upano River."

2: Stirling--78-79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411

"Lucero, writing of the Jivaros a century later, speaks of lances and shields, adding that the lances were frequently tipped with human bone taken from enemies killed in battle. He also speaks of the Jivaros of the Santiago carrying stones in the slack of their skirts, which might point to the use of slings."

2: Stirling--79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"Guns did not come into general use among the Jivaros until the early part of the twentieth century. During this period they captured some guns from the Peruvians, and later the light muzzle-loading escopetas or shotguns were introduced in considerable numbers by the traders. At the present time it is the ambition of every Jivaro to own a gun, although probably less than half of the men possess them. This strong desire to own 'escopetas' can scarcely be based on practical considerations, since they are little more effective for hunting purposes than the blowgun and have the additional disadvantage that the noise made in shooting frightens game. While guns are becoming more common, blowguns still continue to be important adjuncts of every Jivaro household.

It seems clear that during the sixteenth century the Jivaros used lances, spear throwers, and bows and arrows. Sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century the bow and arrow and the spear thrower began to go out of use, being replaced by the blowgun with poison darts."

2: Stirling--80 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 411

"During the writer's investigations he noticed that the blowgun, now the most striking and characteristic weapon of the Jivaro, is never mentioned by the sixteenth century writers. This is of special interest when we observe that later writers have been particularly impressed by its occurrence and never fail to speak of it. This fact led to an investigation of early records in other regions of South America in an attempt to discover from which direction this weapon reached the Jivaro. The only instrument at all comparable which is mentioned in the sixteenth century is the pea shooter or pellet gun of Mexico and Central America. This simple device, which was little more than a toy for shooting small birds, is a far cry from the elaborately manufactured, complex blowgun, shooting long-range piercing darts made effective by the use of poison. The earliest reference to the true blowgun found by the writer is in Saabedra, who in 1620 describes the blowgun with poison darts in use among the Mainas on the Morona, who were the first of the eastern Andean tribes to be missionized."

2: Stirling--80 [2]  (1930-1931) 1938  *Jivaro*
116, 411, 177

"The remarkable parallel between this weapon [KS: the blowgun] and its accessories as manufactured in Indonesia and in South America has been a frequent subject of comment by ethnographers. Details regarding the nature of many of these parallels and the improbability of their independent development need not be mentioned here. As far as the writer is aware, no one has suggested the post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun into the South American region. The amazing similarity in the methods of manufacture and materials used would seem to make it extremely unlikely that this highly specialized complex could have developed independently in the two areas. It seems to the writer much more probable that the use of the blowgun and its equipment was brought into South America by southeastern Asiatics, possible from the Philippines, who were carried across the Pacific on one or more of the many Spanish galleons which followed this route in the sixteenth century. These individuals, escaping into a familiar jungle environment which supplied all of the necessary materials, could easily have used their knowledge to manufacture this complicated but most useful weapon. (13a)

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"13a. The writer has been informed by Dr. Wendell Bennett that there is an early Chimu vessel in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle, of Trujillo, with a painting of what appears to be a man using a blowgun. This may represent a pellet gun."

2: Stirling--80-81 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 177, 411

"Judging from the early literature, its [KS: the blowgun] use in South America originated in the general vicinity of the Mainas, from whom it was obtained by the *Jivaros*, who today are probably the most expert blowgun manufacturers in South America. From this region it spread across the northern Amazon basin to the Guianas, where its intro-
[81] duction appears to have been comparatively late. It seems quite certain that the *Jivaros* did not have it until the seventeenth century.

In northwestern South America the blowgun is called variously cerbatana, or bodoquera, or by the Quechua term pucuna. By the Jivaros it is called umi.

There are numerous variations in the technique of making blowguns as practiced in different sections of the *Jivaro* country. The descriptions given by Rivet (14) and that of Up de Graff (15) approximate most closely the process as witnessed by the writer on the Chinganasa River. The writer has on numerous occasions observed *Jivaros* at work manufacturing blowgun darts and preparing them for use.

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"14. Rivet, 1907, p. 594.
15. Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--(81-82) (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -4
224, 411

"When a man desires to make himself a blowgun he first cuts down a suitable chonta palm which is allowed to dry in the sun for a period of about a week. At the expiration of this time the thorns are removed from the outside of the trunk and it is split in half. From these pieces, two strips, each about 3 inches in width, are split off and cut to the length desired for the blowgun. Then with a machete these strips are shaved until they are very straight and taper from one end to the other. One side of each is made flat while the other is rounded in such fashion that when the two flat sides are placed together the two strips form a cylinder which tapers from about 1 1/4 inches in diameter at one end to three-quarters of an inch at the other end.

The operator then places in the ground 8 feet apart two forked uprights at a height of about 3 feet, one of these being an inch or two lower than the other. A perfectly straight cylindrical rod of chonta wood is prepared, approximately a quarter of an inch in diameter and slightly longer than the intended length of the blowgun. Then a small straight groove is scratched with a bone awl down the full length of each strip in the center of the flat side, following the straight grain of the wood. Using a sharp tooth, this groove is enlarged on each strip until the two together are slightly less in diameter than the intended bore of the blowgun. The two halves are then placed face to face with the rod sandwiched between, in the middle, and are tied together with bark strips.

2: Stirling--81-83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411

Sand and water are then poured into the hollow at the high end. The rod is worked back and forth, enlarging the groove. From time to time the implement is turned over so that the grinding goes on equally on each section. This operation is continued, the sand and water being constantly applied, until the flat faces of the two chonta [82] strips meet and have been planed perfectly smooth. The bore is then of the size desired.

Next a section is cut from the leg bone of a watusa (cayuca) forming a bone tube about 2 inches long. The edges of the bone are ground to make them smooth. Then secate(16) is melted over the fire and smeared over the entire surface of the inside of the two chonta strips, which are then carefully fitted together so that the edges meet exactly. The secate dries quickly, firmly gluing the two sections together.

Next the implement is wrapped closely in spiral fashion from one end to the other with tinyuci (fiber strips from the midrib of the ivory nut palm). The strips which are used about a half inch in width. This is fastened tightly in place and is then smeared all over with secate. After the secate has dried it is smoothed and worked over by heating a machete and applying the flat side. Sometimes the smoothing is done by means of a stick while the original application of the secate is still warm and soft.

A quantity of charora (17) is placed in a pot and heated until it melts and boils. Then it is mixed with sucuta (the juice of a green fruit about the size of a small orange) which

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16. Latex of *Sinphonia* sp.
17. Wax-like resin from the *Copernica cerifera.*

2: Stirling--81-83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 411

darkens the mixture. When it has taken on a black color, the pot is removed from the fire and set aside until the sucuta has cooled a little. Then with a stick or machete it is smeared all over the surface of the blowgun. Following this process, it is smoothed and dressed with a stick or a hot machete as before. When this has been done, the surface of the implement has taken on a gloss.

Next the large end of the blowgun for a length of 2 inches is dressed down until a small cylinder projects which is slightly larger than the bore. The bone mouthpiece is fitted snugly over this and the shoulder left by dressing down the end of the tube is covered over and tapered down by applying some of the warm charora which covers half of the bone mouthpiece. Another small lump of charora in the form of a small mound is applied to the barrel about a foot from the mouthpiece. The two incisor teeth of a watusa are then imbedded in this so that the groove between the teeth is parallel to the axis of the bore. This serves as the blowgun sight. (18)

Finally the bore is polished by drawing the blowgun back and forth over a rattan strip to which a wad of cotton or balsa floss is attached. Sometimes a long slender ramrod of chonta wood with cotton attached to one end is used in place of the rattan strip. This

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"18. Rivet (1907, p. 595) states that this is not used as a sight, but as a guide to the hunter so that he always has the tube in the same position when shooting and can thus correctly allow for any error in the shooting quality of his weapon."

process being completed, the blowgun is ready for use. [83]

The work is done little by little as the maker has the leisure or inclination, so that it is difficult to say how long a time is required. A man in a hurry could probably complete the entire process in a week."

2: Stirling--83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 784

"The length of a blowgun varies more or less according to the desire of the maker. In general, however, they may be divided into two types: the short variety which are usually approximately 10 feet in length, and a longer type which may be as much as 15. The longer the weapon, the greater its range and accuracy. On the other hand, the long blowgun is an awkward implement to carry through the thick forest. The long blowguns are generally used in hunting larger game, such as wild pig, monkeys, and large birds which roost in high trees. During the manufacture of the blowgun various dietary taboos must be observed and the maker must remain continent, otherwise the blowgun will warp or check.

Frequently a pair of canine teeth of the jaguar or two alligator teeth are attached to the blowgun at the base of the mouthpiece by imbedding them in chorora in such fashion that the points of the teeth curve around the cheeks of the user when the tube is held in position. These seem to be particularly desired for ornament but they serve a useful purpose as well, giving a certain amount of lateral support to the weapon."

2: Stirling--83-84 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 411

"In using the blowgun it is held with both hands, palms down, close to the mouth, with the sight held uppermost (pl. 22, c). The bone mouthpiece is placed to the lips and a slight puff is sufficient to speed the dart on its way. Although the range varies in proportion to the length of the weapon, it might be said that the maximum effective range of an average blowgun is about 45 yards.

In order to keep the weapon from warping or bending it is always stored in an upright position, muzzle upward, usually with the mouthpiece resting on a block of wood, and tied to the center post of the house, or suspended vertically, muzzle upward. In order to keep the bore clean, a piece of cotton or kapok is stuffed into the muzzle.

The blowgun darts, called *taensac*, are made from the midribs of the leaves of the ivory-nut palm. The leaves are cut at the season when the ivory nuts are ripe, for at this time the wood is very hard. A cut is made just deep enough to go through the bark covering of the rib and then the bark is stripped off. These strips are cut into the proper length, which is measured from the base of the palm of the hand to the crook of the elbow. The strips are then split into sticks of the proper size and shaved to a point at one end, the stem of the dart having a diameter equal to that of a common match.

The darts are stored in a cylindrical quiver called *tunda*, made from a section of bamboo, with a cover to fit over the opening (pl. 36, *a*). The quiver is filled with a roll of the fibrous material obtained from [84] inside the midribs of tinyuci palm leaves in order to protect the darts and to keep them in place. Attached to the dart quiver is a hollow

2: Stirling--83-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411

spherical calabash with a small opening. This is filled with the floss of the silk cotton tree (19) which is attached as wadding to the butt end of the darts as they are needed (pl. 36, e)."

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"19. *Eriodendron anfractuos*.

2: Stirling --84 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"Poison is necessary to make the darts effective, except when shooting small birds. At the present time many of the Jivaros buy their poison from white traders or from neighboring tribes. This poison is mostly made at Lamas and Taratolos on the Huallaga River in Peru. The Jivaros occasionally make poison of their own which is probably the type used when they first secured the blowgun. The Jivaro names of the ingredients as used on the Yaupe are as follows: Machápi, described as being a vine; Aimár, a root; Tságuami, the bark of a tree; Cacátsa, a vine; Puíngish, the leaves of a bush; Ambi, a small pepper. (20) These are mashed together by pounding them with a stone in equal proportions. This mash is then mixed with water and boiled for about half an hour. Then the liquid is filtered through a piece of cloth, usually a piece of worn-out itipi. The filtrate is allowed to stand until it forms a black, pitch-like substance. This is again heated in a small pot and put into bamboo tubes or tiny earthenware pots (pl. 36, c).

Before putting it on the darts it is heated in order to thin it. It is smeared on the points of the darts with a spatulate piece of wood. Then to dry them so that the poison will adhere better the darts are planted in the earth around the fire, points up; after which they are placed in the quiver and are ready for use."

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"20. Karsten gives a list of 30 ingredients used inmaking poison on the Upano."

2: Stirling--84-85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 278

"When Up de Graff was dealing with the Indians of the Santiago he learned how to manufacture dart poison from the Indians below the Pongo, and made it himself in quantities in order to trade it to the Antipas Jivaros. He describes the process as follows:

> The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action of it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles plain chocolate in consistency, color, and smell. While still warm it is poured into a bamboo receptacle and when cool it becomes semisolidified.(21)

Up de Graff mentions that when the Jivaros manufactured their own poison the process was involved in considerable superstition and ritual. Only the wishinu might make it. He must also make the small pots in which it is kept. In addition to the use of the vine

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"21. Up de Graff, p. 213."

2: Stirling--84-85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 278

as described by Up de Graff, numerous other ingredients are employed, such as spiders, ants, and vegetable extracts supposed to contain tsaruiama. Up de Graff gave it as his opinion that the addition of these other materials served only to dilute the poison, as the Indians found his poison to be more effective than their own. It is probable that the 'Machapi' vine mentioned by the informants on the Toupe as the first item in making poison, is the same vine as that used by Up de Graff, and it is probably the only active ingredient in the mixture."

2: Stirling--85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
316, 411, 224

"Attached to the dart quiver (pl. 36) is part of the jaw of a fish with sharp teeth (*Serrasalmo piraya*). This instrument is used for making a circular cut around the dart about an inch from the point so that this section will break off in the wound. This procedure is particularly necessary in shooting monkeys, as a monkey always will attempt to pluck the dart out immediately upon being hit."

2: Stirling--85 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"When poison in storage dries up and becomes hard it is unfit for use. However, there is a process for renewing it. This is done by putting lemon juice in the poison pot and heating it over the ifre, meanwhile stirring with a stick until it becomes plastic again. About 24 hours are required to complete this process. Poison may only be renewed once in this fashion, as to do so more frequently causes it to lose its effectiveness.

According to the Indians, the length of time required for the poison to take effect varies with respect to the location of the wound, the species and size of the animal, freshness of the poison, and similar factors. Large birds usually resist the poison from 10 to 15 minutes. The writer has seen large monkeys, wounded with several darts, live for almost half an hour."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck. (22)"

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"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

2: Stirling--85-86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The traditional war equipment of the *Jivaro* from earliest times has consisted of the lance and shield (pl. 28). Before the spear thrower was abandoned, a small lance or javelin was in common use. The ordinary name for lance is *nangi*, but ceremonially it is referred [86] to as *shingi*. It is made from the hard black wood of the chonta palm and as a rule is from 6 to 8 feet in length. The head is usually in one of two shapes; either diamond-shaped with a low ridge running down the center of each side and tapering to a cutting edge, or triangular in cross section without the cutting edges (pl. 14, a). At the present time lance heads of the former type made of iron are in common use (pl. 11, a). From a practical standpoint, these are unquestionably superior to the wooden lance, but the *Jivaros* believe that the all-chonta lances contain magical properties not possessed by iron, and therefore the more conservative Indians still prefer them for use in warfare. Until comparatively recently the *Jivaros* say that they used lances tipped with points made from the leg bones of the jaguar. In the seventeenth century Lucero spoke of lances fitted with points made from human leg bones. These seem to have been a smaller type of spear and probably represent the javelin which was formerly propelled by means of the spear thrower."

2: Stirling--86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The use of the spear thrower appears now to be entirely forgotten by the *Jivaros.* Pigorini figures a spear thrower credited to the Murato. It consists of a straight stick tapering slightly from the butt to the tip. An inch or two below the tip a spur is attached, apparently by means of binding made secure by the addition of some sort of wax or resin. The handle has a small perforation through it about an inch from the base through which a string is passed, evidently for the purpose of fastening the implement to the wrist. It is not dissimilar in general appearance to archeological specimens from the Peruvian highlands. (22)

Mortillet says that the javelin proper consists of a shaft 76 cm. in length made from a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia), which is smooth on the outside but filled with pith and unusually light in weight. One of the extremities is closed by a plug made of a resistant wood for receiving the spur of the throwing stick. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta point in the form of a very sharp prismatic prong about 22 cm in length. (23) "

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"22. Pigorini, p. 46, pl. 1.
23. Mortillet, 1891, p. 241."

"The *Jivaros* call the shield pandara. Like the lance, it has apparently changed but little during the passage of the centuries. They are made from the large flat buttresses of the camusha (ceiba) (24) tree. These buttresses do not have a definite grain and therefore do not split or check easily. In addition, they are tough and light. The shields are circular in form and, although approximately 3 feet in diameter, are always made from a single piece. The shield is fabricated in such a manner as to make it appear to be composed of three [87] superimposed concentric disks, each about a half inch in thickness and each with a diameter approximately one-half that of the disk upon which it is superposed. Thus the center of the shield, while apparently somewhat thicker than the outer edge, is actually not as much so as it appears because of the concavity of the inner surface which is really in the form of a very much flattened cone. A hand grip of rattan is attached at the apex of this cone and is fastened in place by being pegged into three small holes made on either side of the central disc (pl. 28).

As a rule, the shields are painted with sua and achiote. The decorations usually represent animals or spirits designed to give power in warfare. The shield which the writer obtained from Hisama on the upper Chinganasa River had a design depicting Pangi, the anaconda; the moon, and the sun's rays. The round shield itself represents the sun.

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"24. Bombax ceiva.

2: Stirling--86-87 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411, 713

The shield, like the chonta lance, is supposed to contain tsarutama so that it is used for other purposes than for defence in fighting. Hisama carried his shield with him when night fishing, in order to ward off Iguanchi. He stated that the shield was called upon frequently when it was suspected that evil spirits were in the vicinity, or that a rival wishinu was attempting to work harm through magical powers.

As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check.

Formerly shields were also made from the skins of the tapir and of the manatee, but this practice has apparently been abandoned."

2: Stirling--87-89 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 342

"As has been indicated elsewhere, the *Jivaro* houses are usually erected singly in defensible situations on the headwaters of affluent streams rather than on the main rivers. The typical *Jivaro* house (pl. 1) is about 75 or 80 feet in length with a width of from 40 to 45 feet. It is approximately elliptical in shape with parallel side walls and rounded ends. The walls are made of chonta palm laths and bamboo or cane stakes, about 9 or 10 feet in height. These stakes are set close together and lashed firmly with strips of bark or vines.

The roof is made of palm thatch and is typically supported by seven tall upright posts, as shown in figure 2. A ridge pole about 40[89] feet long extends between the central posts. From this, rafters constructed of poles are dropped to the eaves, the lower ends of these poles extending about 2 feet beyond the stakes forming the walls of the house. These rafters are lashed into place with bark and vines. The rafters forming the ends of the house radiate from the end posts in the form of spokes from a common center.

At each end of the house is a door, one to be used by the women and the other by the men. The doors are the full height of the walls and consist of three or four heavy slabs of hewn timber set vertically in slots at the top and bottom. In order to enter the house it is necessary to lift these planks at the bottom and set them to one side. They can be barred from the inside by a crossbar which prevents them from being lifted. As a vari-

2: Stirling--87-89 [1930-1931] 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 342

ation to this type of door, sometimes doors are constructed of a broad bomba plank, the full width of the entrance (pl. 26, a). Sometimes this type of door is attached by means of bark or leather hinges.

The cracks between the wall stakes provide ample ventilation and in the daytime sufficient light enters between them to prevent the interior from becoming gloomy. The floor is of packed earth, which is kept neatly swept at all times."

2: Stirling--89 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 342

"On the Chinganaza River a house in process of construction was observed (pl. 27, *a*). The skeleton of the house had been erected, the uprights and roof poles being mostly in place, tied together with vines. On the floor of the house were coils of vines to be used for binding purposes and more cut poles for roofing. There were also several baskets of wet yellow clay which had been used for packing the holes in which the upright posts had been set, obviously for the purpose of setting them in place more firmly. The clay had been tamped in place about the base of the posts by means of wooden stakes. Alongside the new house had been erected a small temporary shelter under which were neatly stacked palm leaves to be used for thatching the roof.

In addition to the typical permanent house just described, the *Jivaros* on the lower Santiago and on the Marañon occasionally construct houses of a different sort. These consist merely of a thatched roof supported by a ridge pole held up by two tall end posts and terminating against low uprights 2 or 3 feet high at the edge of the eaves. This type of house has no walls and as a rule is intended as a more or less temporary home (pl. 27, *b*)."

2: Stirling--89[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
336, 342

"The architectural plan of the jivaría varies to some extent depending upon the size of the house. A small jivaría such as that of Nisama on the Chinganaza has a single center post with a short ridge pole lashed on top of it in the form of a T."

2: Stirling--90 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 342

"The house of Sakacha was built on the edge of a 30-foot bluff on a small hill in the jungle a couple of miles from the left bank of the Marañon about 10 miles above the junction with the Santiago. This house was a long, rambling structure, about 14 feet wide and 60 feet long, with low eaves and no side walls or ends. It was supported by five center posts arranged more or less in a row. There were four men, three women, and five or six children living in this house."

2: Stirling--90 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352

"One end of the house is used as living quarters for the women while the other end is occupied by the men. The beds of the men consist of square platforms of split bamboo elevated about 20 inches above the floor by means of four short uprights supporting cross-pieces. In front of this platform and at the same height a rack is made by placing a pole across two Y-shaped uprights. Directly in front of the bed platform and under this rack a fire is kept burning at night over which the sleepers toast their feet. The fires are built from radiating logs, the ends of which are pushed together as they are consumed (pl. 2). At each corner of the bed platform is an upright pole to which the platform is attached. These uprights extend 5 feet above the bed where they support a second platform of split bamboo the same size as the bed. This makes a cover for the bed and is utilized as a place for piling various odds and ends, such as bundles of tobacco, blowgun dart quivers, nijimanche bowls, empty gourds, shields, feather ornaments, etc.

The beds of the women are constructed in the same manner, excepting that walls of split bamboo are built around the four uprights, forming a cubicle and giving them a privacy which the men do not have. Also, the foot rack is absent from the women's bed. The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age. When not in use for hunting purposes, the dogs are kept tied to the women's beds."

2: Stirling--90-91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352

"Around the walls at the women's end of the house, racks are constructed on which a hundred or more earthenware jars of all descriptions are stacked. Sitting in the middle of the floor between the two center posts are four or five large red jars, or mikas, covered by means of banana leaves lashed around the orifice. These contain the chewed manioc which is always kept on hand for returning hunters or visitors to the house. These are frequently raised from the ground on three sticks slanting inward, set at equal intervals as props under the swelling body of the jar. Each man of the house has his own special drinking bowl, the curaka having an especially large bowl a foot in diameter.

Here and there around the sides of the room at the men's end of the house long cords hang from the rafters, terminating in a num-[91]ber of wooden hooks from which are hung the majority of a man's possessions; his darts and poison, the latter being contained in a small leaf-covered pottery bowl, his gun (if he owns one), a net bag containing such personal odds and ends as combs, necklaces, and ear ornaments, achiote seeds, and other small objects. By the side of each bed there is generally a large gourd with a curved neck in which is a small round opening. These the women keep filled with water for drinking purposes or for washing the hands and face.

Against the upright posts of the house are lashed the war and hunting weapons; the lances, blowguns, fish spears, etc. The lance generally rests point down on a block of wood at the base of the post."

2: Stirling--91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 343, 231

"To a limited extent, particularly on the Upano, the Jivaros keep domesticated fowl and pigs, these having been early introduced by the Spaniards. They are cared for by the women and regarded as the women's property. The native 'pavo' (Penelope cristata) is also sometimes domesticated. Small conical structures, strongly built of poles, are erected in the clearing of the jivaría where the domestic animals repair at night as protection against prowling members of the cat tribe (pl. 26, b). Various pets are frequently encountered in the jivaría, monkeys, parrots, and toucans being the most common. These, as well as the dogs, are kept inside the house."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 252, 574

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

S: Stirling--BI [3]　　(1930-1931) 1938　　Jivaro
286, 352, 462

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

8: Stirling--91 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 283, 462

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the *Jivaro* spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, a; 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
286, 288, 462

"The dyeing of the thread in various shades of brown is done by steeping it in a solution of vegetable dye made from achiote seeds and various kinds of bark, depending on the shade of brown desired. The dyeing is done by the women, the Indians explaining that the process takes a considerable length of time and the men do not care to be tied down by it."

2: Stirling--92 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 536

"In each house is a large signal drum, tunduli, made from a hollowed log about 5 feet long. With the drum is a short wooden beater padded on one end. As a rule, these drums are permitted to rest on the ground but the sound carries a much greater distance and has much more resonance when they are suspended by means of the wooden lugs at each end. The face of the drum has four diamond-shaped openings connected by slots. The drum is beaten on the tongue formed by the V-shaped slots connecting the two middle openings (fig. 3). (25)

There is also in each house a small dance drum made of a cylindrical piece of wood about 10 inches long and about 7 or 8 inches in diameter. A monkey-skin head is attached to each end by means of a tight-fitting hoop. This drum is beaten with a small bone or a straight stick. It is used in connection with singing and dancing (pl. 22, d). The large drum is also used for dances in the big ceremonies."

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"25. Karsten says that the drum represents the sacred anaconda Pangi. The lugs are the head and tail, the openings the pattern on the snake's back.

2: Stirling--92 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 533

"The Jivaros in common with most American Indians are fond of music, both vocal and instrumental. Dances and ceremonies are always accompanied by songs, the performers singing in unison. The songs run the entire gamut of human emotions---warlike songs, songs of triumph, mourning songs, love songs, and songs which represent ordinary prayers. Singing may or may not have instrumental accompaniment. The two types of drums in use have already been described."

2: Stirling--92-94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 534

"Bamboo flutes of various types are popular. These are used as a rule by young men in love, or for playing melodies when in a sad mood (pls. 17, d; 37, a-f). Trumpets are made from the shells of the giant land snail (pl. 37, g). These are used for signaling purposes and can scarcely be classed as true musical instruments. The Aguaruna make a primitive violin called quer-quer from cedar or balsa wood (pl. 37, h) which normally has two strings made of monkey intestines or of chambira fiber. It has a hollow sounding box at the large end, which is covered with a thin slab of wood fastened in place with wooden nails. Upon this is a fret held in place by two projecting wooden plugs. The strings are tuned by means of two [94] chonta-wood pegs, to which the strings are attached. The instrument is played by means of a small bow which has a string of rattan (pl. 37, i). The quer-quer is only played when the musician is alone in the house. It is used to recall war expeditions and memories of the dead. The music is always sad and the player weeps as he plays."

2: Stirling--94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 534

"The snail-shell belts (pl. 10) and leg ornaments worn by the women at dances might be classed as musical instruments, as the jingling sound they produce marks the cadence of the dance."

2: Stirling--94 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 317, 323

"Just as the men when in the house spin or weave when they have nothing else to do, so the women are likely to keep themselves busy in making pottery. Considerable care is taken in the locating of outcrops of suitable potters' clay. Selected lumps of rough clay wrapped in bark are placed in baskets and carried to the jivaría. The work of preparing and refining the clay is done within the house. A chunk of clay is placed on a flat slab of wood and pounded with a heavy stone. Impurities, such as small stones and other foreign substances, are picked out by hand. This refined clay is then mixed with a small amount of ash and moistened, after which it is stacked in piles on another wooden slab. One pile is a stiff olive green clay which is used to furnish the main body of the pot; the other pile consists of a rather sloppy yellow clay which is used for thinning. The latter is added to the heavy clay until the proper texture is obtained.

The mixture of the two clays is kneaded together by the potter in the proper proportions and placed in a third pile which is used for building up the pot. Squatting or sitting on the floor, the woman picks up a handful of this clay and, between the palms of the hands or on top of the thigh, she rolls it into a rope 2 or 3 feet in length (pl. 24, a, b). The pot is then built up on a flat slab of wood by a coiling process. As the sides of the vessel rise, each rope of clay is carried around the rim with the right hand, the left hand pinching it flat so as to make it adhere to the coil below (pl. 24, c). When thus pinched into place, the potter from time to time dips a gourd shell into water and with it smooths

2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 317, 323

down the coil, both on the inside and outside surfaces (pl. 24, d).

After the bowl has been completed it is set inside the house to dry in the shade. At this stage the bowl is sometimes decorated with simple geometric incised designs in the form of wavy or zigzag bands. As a rule, a considerable number of vessels are made and [95] dried at the same time so that a dozen or so pots may be fired simultaneously. There is a variety of shapes, but the vessels may be classified into three types according to use---deep cooking vessels, large storage jars for nijimanche, and small bowls for drinking or eating purposes.

After the drying has been completed preparations are made for firing. Two good-sized logs are laid parallel on the ground about a foot apart. Smaller cross-logs are then put in position, leaving spaces between, of a proper size to admit the vessels which are to be fired, the crosspieces supporting the sides of each vessel when in position. Then smaller pieces of dry wood, preferably rotten wood and dry bark, are piled around and over the bowls (fig. 4). The entire mass is thickly covered with palm leaves and the pile ignited. The evenness of the firing depends largely upon the care with which the fuel has been arranged and the slowness with which it burns.

The firing being completed and the vessels cooled and wiped off, they are ready for painting. The storage vessels and drinking bowls to be used for nijimanche are usually painted a solid red color on the outside by means of achiote mixed with caraña or gum copal. The drinking bowls are painted red on the outside and the inside surface is painted

2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 317, 323

with designs which are geometric in character or which represent mythologic episodes in the career of Mika, who is the patron of pottery vessels. The Aguaruna cover the interior of their vessels with a white slip on which the designs are painted in red and black, the black color being obtained from charcoal. Caraña is used as a varnish to finish the inside of the bowls.

The clay which is used for pottery making is called mieway. Small drinking vessels are called pininga and when decorated are known as pininga agajmo. The large storage jars, which sometimes have a capacity of 10 gallons, are called mika. Various names are applied to distinguish the many smaller varieties of pottery vessels according to their shape and special use. (For typical forms see pl. 35.)"

2: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

2; Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Tsamagashi, and Ambusha."

2: Stirling--96-97 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 382, 576

"While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Cawarus' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Cawarus' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and sua. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or sua in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Cawarus' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Cawarus gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Cawarus spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Cawarus arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of ourmen individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

2: Stirling--96-97 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 302, 574

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

2: Stirling--98-99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 537, 754

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

2: Stirling--98-99 (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 537, 754

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

2: Stirling--99[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116. 302

"Young men spend a great deal of time and care on their hair, which is frequently washed, combed, and trimmed. The hair is cut low on the forehead, forming a straight line above the eyes (pl. 4, b, c). It is allowed to grow somewhat longer over the temples where it hangs down on the cheek about on a level with the tip of the nose and the ear lobe. The rest of the hair is allowed to grow long, sometimes hanging to the waist. Women generally allow the hair to hang free, although sometimes a woven fillet is worn about the head (pl. 17, c). The men, however, have various methods of doing up their hair. The usual method is to gather it together at the base of the skull where it is wrapped with a narrow woven cotton band called 'eztma' about 2 feet in length, which is decorated at either end with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. Sometimes the hair thus gathered is allowed to hang down the back (pl. 5, a, c), but generally it is wrapped around the head (pl. 5, b, d). The hair hanging over the cheeks is frequently wrapped and allowed to hang in the form of two small pigtails (pls. 4, a; 7, d)."

2: Stirling--99[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wear in their hair rather elaborately made combs, called temashi, carved from narrow slivers of palm wood lashed together at the base with an ornate cotton weave. These combs hold the hair in place when wrapped about the crown of the head (pls. 5, d; 7, b).

The men and women both pierce the lobes of the ears through which bamboo tubes are thrust (pl. 5). These ear tubes, or jarusa, are usually decorated with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers and white down. Sometimes feather tufts are tied directly to the lobe of the ear.

Girls when still very young have the lower lip pierced and through the opening formed at this time the women wear a small cane lip plug (pl. 9, a)."

2: Stirling--99-100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"When traveling or when engaged in ceremonies, both men and women paint the face and occasionally the arms and shoulders with the oily red pigment from the seed of *Bixa orellana*, called achiote [100] (fig. 5). The juice of *Genipa americana*, called sua by the Jivaros, is also used as a black stain in decorating the face and body. When achiote is fresh it is rather bright red in color but when somewhat old it turns to a reddish brown. Sua is colorless when put on but in about an hour it becomes dark blue in color and after about 8 hours turns almost black. Men frequently smear the face red all over with fresh achiote and on top of that paint the designs in brown achiote. Sua stays on the skin for about 6 days. After 4 days it again turns blue and then begins gradually to wear off. As a rule the face designs on men are painted in heavy, coarse lines while those on the faces of women are drawn in fine, narrow lines."

2: Stirling--100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 304

"Tattooing is also indulged in to a limited extent. The writer saw a number of examples of facial tattooing on the Yaupe River (fig. 5.)"

E: Stirling--100 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 291

"The costume of the men consists of a rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth which is brown in color with light vertical stripes, called an itipi. This is wrapped around the waist where it is tucked in and allowed to hang just below the knees. The men are uncovered from the waist up. When traveling the men wear a bag of monkey skin with the fur attached in which they carry their ornaments and other small articles (pl. 13).

The costume of the women, called tarachi, consists of a much larger rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth not as heavy nor as finely made as those of the men (pl. 3). It is wrapped around the body in such fashion that the two upper corners meet over the right shoulder where they are pinned together with a chonta-wood pin. A cord is worn around the waist and the lower part of the skirt is drawn through it in such fashion as to make a loose blouse about the waist. In this infants and very young children are carried by their mothers, either on the back or at the breast (pls. 23, c; 17, a, b). The skirt of the women also hangs just below the knees and the left shoulder is bare. When a family does not have sufficient cloth garments, or a woman has no man to weave for her, the tarachi is sometimes made from bark cloth (pl. 19). Boys also occasionally wear clothing of this material."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present beads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, *a*). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, *b*, *c*; 5, *a*, *c*). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, *b*). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, *a*)."

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

2: Stirling--102 [3]　　(1930-1931) 1938　　Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

2: Stirling--103 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 226, 262

"In the higher mountain regions where the streams are small and torrential very few fish occur. In most of these streams the only food fish is the naiumbi, a curious looking fish whose body is surrounded by a hard shell and which attached itself on the under surface of rocks by means of a sucking appliance similar to that of the pilot fish. These ugly and bony creatures, while not very delectable in appearance, are sometimes the only available food supply in the gameless regions of the higher mountains. The Indians capture them by simply wading out into the stream and overturning rocks to which they are attached, removing them with their fingers. In the lower regions and along streams which are less turbulent fish life is very abundant and the Indians have devised many different ways of capturing them. Fishhooks are seldom used excepting where the Indians have been able to obtain them from the whites. The Jivaros apparently do not make or use fish nets at the present time.(26)"

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"26. Up de Graff describes the use of nets among the Antipas, saying: 'Their nets are made of palm fiber, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point upstream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush downstream.' Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--104
116, 226, 278, 461

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

2: Stirling--104 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 227

"In constructing a typical fish trap a mat is made of flattened bamboo strips. This is laid across parallel sticks and two winged dams are made to divert the water onto the mat. In flowing over the mat the water strains through, leaving the fish stranded as they swim downstream. The edges of the mat are rolled up a little so as to make a trough of it, and a dam of leaves is placed at the far end to prevent the fish flopping out (Fig. 6). Fish spears are made of a long, slender shaft of chonta palm, fitted with a bone point."

2: Stirling-104-105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136

"In the forests of the Santiago wild game is very abundant. Among the larger mammals are to be listed the tapir, the capybara, the paca, the peccary, wild hogs, the giant ant bear, deer, and monkeys. Several members of the cat tribe are also to be found, the puma occurring in the higher mountains while the jaguar and ocelot are very abundant in the lowland jungles, as well as in the eastern foothills of the Andes. In the rivers are to be found both the manatee and the fresh-water porpoise. The most striking members of the reptilian family are alligators, turtles, the giant boa constrictors, and anacondas."

2: Stirling--105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Bird life is remarkably abundant and varied. The principal food birds are the greater and lesser pawil and toucans of several species. The Indian does not scorn for food purposes the various members of the parrot family, or in fact almost any bird which he might be able to kill.

Various insects are also utilized for food purposes. A certain variety of giant red ant is a favorite delicacy, these as a rule being eaten in a parched form. In addition to this, large white grubs are secured in quantities from rotten wood and are considered to be a particularly choice morsel of food. Frogs, lizards, and snails are likewise frequently eaten.

It is seldom necessary for the Jivaro to go hungry. With his skill in woodcraft and his knowledge of the wild plant and animal life of the jungles in which he lives, he is able as a rule to find food at all times on comparatively short notice."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be..

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

2: Stirling--105-106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224

"When any member of a jivaría locates the trail of a herd of peccaries or wild hogs a community hunt is organized. Preparations for such a hunt constitute somewhat of a social occasion. All of the dogs owned by the jivaría are put on leash and, under the care of the women, are brought with the hunting party into the forest to the point where the trail of the herd has been seen. A consultation then takes place between the leading men in order to decide the probable course taken by the herd. Many things are taken into consideration, such as the direction of the wind, the occurrence of trees furnishing suitable foods on which the animals are likely to be feeding, the physical nature of the terrain itself, and the probabilities of the herd being turned aside by streams or gullies. After the likely location of the herd is determined, various individuals are spread through the forest to act as drivers, while others are stationed [106] with their weapons at favorable points where it is expected the animals will be driven past."

2: Stirling--106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 224

"Guns, lances, and blowguns are all used. The peccary is a dangerous animal when aroused and a man in the path of a charging herd is forced to take to a tree in order to save his life. Because of this fact, a great deal of excitement prevails at the final contacting of the game. The beaters with their dogs have all arranged a series of signals sounding like bird calls, by means of which they make their presence and position known one to the other. With the dogs howling as the trail is struck, the woods are filled with bedlam as the animals are driven out and swing into motion.

As the herd approaches, grunting and with teeth clashing, the hunters stationed along the path grow excited as the shooting begins. Those with guns fire and reload as rapidly as possible. The men with lances station themselves at the base of trees where they are able to receive the rush of the animals, lancing one or two if possible as they charge, and then immediately taking to the tree above them in order to escape the rest. As soon as the herd has arrived, all of the Jivaro hunters are to be seen seated on the lower limbs of small tree, frantically ramming charges in their muzzle loaders or shooting blowgun darts as rapidly as possible into the herd of charging animals. The men with the lances lower themselves from the trees in order to use their lances effectively, but taking care not to allow themselves to fall to the ground or get in the path of the peccaries.

In due course of time the excited animals rush past and the hunters descend from their perches and collect all that have been killed. Those shot with poisoned darts it is necessary to follow a considerable distance. All of the dead animals are then brought together,

2: Stirling--106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 224

singed, cleaned, and carried back many weary miles through the jungle to the jivaría. All of the carrying is done by the women. In case there are not enough to bring all of the animals which have been killed, instead of the men helping so that it could be done at one trip, the women return and make a second trip in order to secure the remainder.

Meat which is obtained as the result of a community hunt is divided among the hunters by the curaka. On one occasion when we were present at a peccary hunt of this sort we were unable to purchase any meat because of the fact that, inasmuch as it had been a community venture, there was no one entitled to receive payment for it. The only solution was to give us part of the meat as our share for participating in the hunt.

Another mass method of killing wild pigs or peccaries is to drive them into a large stream where they are pursued in canoes and lanced in the water. A hunt of this nature was witnessed on the Marañon when five pigs were secured from a large herd crossing the river."

2: Stirling--107 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 262, 224

"Certain of the available animals are not utilized by the Jivaro for food purposes on account of magical taboos. Notable among these exceptions are the deer and tapir. Deer are considered to contain tsarutama of the feared spirit, Iguanchi. The Indians have no hesitancy in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, but no Jivaro will partake of deer meat himself. In the same way, in some regions, the flesh of the tapir is taboo."

2: Stirling--107[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

2: Stirling--108 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 241

"Bananas and plantains, as is customary in the region of the eastern Andes, are seldom permitted to ripen. When the fruit is mature the bunches are picked. The bananas or plantains are first peeled and then either boiled while green or roasted in the coals of the fire. The Indians prefer it in this mealy and tasteless fashion rather than in the form of ripened fruit."

2: Stirling--108 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 249

"In addition to these staple food plants, other plants for various purposes are raised in the clearing about the houses. Among these might be listed cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, achiote, and barbasco shrubs."

2: Stirling--108 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 222

"While fruits are rather extensively used for food purposes. Among those occurring most abundantly in the region of the Santiago are guava beans, sapotes, and the fruit of the chonta palm."

2: Stirling--108 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241

"The combination of fertile soil, warm and abundant rainfall, and mild temperature causes the various agricultural products to grow rapidly and luxuriantly. No finer bananas or plantains are to be seen anywhere in the world."

2: Stirling--108 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 583

"Marriage among the Jivaros is by a form of purchase. When a man sees an unmarried girl or a widow whom he wishes to take as a wife he speaks to her father or brother and, unless they particularly object to the suitor, a price is agreed upon and he takes the woman away. There is no ceremony attached to the transaction and no ceremony of marriage. A woman does not have the right to refuse a man if her father or brother have accepted payment for her. Very frequently immature girls of 8 or 9 years of age are purchased as wives. They are at once considered as being wives and go to their husband's household to live. Sexual intercourse does not take place, however, until puberty. In other respects, the young girl functions as a wife, attending to her household duties along with any other wives her husband might have."

2: Stirling--108-109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 595

"Because of the prevalence of the custom of head hunting, the women outnumber the men considerably, as marriageable women are rarely killed in the head-hunting raids. As a result, polygamy is an inevitable consequence. José Grande, an old chief on the upper Upano River, has 11 wives and 5 or 6 wives not uncommon for an influential man.

It is not to be supposed that the lot of women is an unhappy one because of these facts. Most women appear to have a real affection for their husbands and the young girl wives appear to be as much attached as a rule to their husbands as to their own parents. [109] Jealousy between wives is apparently a very rare trait. Almost always a household of women get along very well together and the various wives of a man become very fond of one another. A typical marital group in the case of older men consists of three wives---one, an older woman of approximately the husband's age; another, a young wife of 16 to 20 years of age; and the third, an immature girl."

2: Stirling--109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"Just because a man may usually purchase any woman he likes, it cannot be assumed that romantic love is lacking in the live of the Jivaros. As a general rule, a man does not care to have a wife who does not reciprocate his affection. When he sees an eligible woman who stirs his emotions, particularly if he be a young man, he begins a rather elaborate campaign of courtship in order to gain the affection of the woman. When a man is in love he quite naturally desires to put on his best appearance; therefore he always keeps himself well painted and decorated. He is very particular about his hair and dress."

"When he begins his courtship he pays a visit to the house where the girl of his choice lives, always taking care to invent some other reason to account for his presence there or else making the visit seem quite accidental. When he enters the house, according to custom he is served mesato by each of the women in turn. When his particular woman steps up with her bowl of nijimanche for him he acts very serious and gruff. He takes the bowl roughly from her and, after drinking, returns it with the same violence. Following the chicha drinking, again according to custom, the women begin serving him food. When the woman of his choice brings him manioc or sweetpotatoes he takes it from her without looking at her, examines the food, breaks off a piece and hurls it on the ground. If there was any doubt in her mind before, this assures her that the man is in love. Generally this is all that is accomplished on the first visit.

As a rule, before his second visit, he allows an interval of 3 days to elapse, on the theory that during this time the girl will have a chance to think about him and his actions and to wonder if she created enough of an impression for him to return. His preparations for the second visit are considerably more elaborate.

First he goes to the river and calls upon Tsungi, the mythical water monster, to aid him in his affair. He sings songs especially composed for the occasion. Tsungi is supposed to exert a particular control over love affairs. In the forest he has probably already collected leaves of the plant called muspa, which he dries and from which he makes a powder. The Jivaros believe that when the otter wishes to catch fish he rubs his paws

2: Stirling--109-110 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 584

on this plant and on his face. [110] The lover goes through the same procedure when he collects the leaves. The muspa powder is mixed with achiote and yaona, a sweet-smelling herb. This combination is then mixed with a little grease and placed in a small bamboo tube. Sometimes the preparation is purchased from the wishinu. This preparation is called semica.

On his second visit he also brings with him the fangs of an anaconda or a boa; these are supposed to bring good luck to a woman. Other little gifts as well are prepared, such as nuts, from which she can make amulets, vanilla beans, yaona plants wrapped in cotton, combs, and similar trinkets. The teeth of the manatee are supposed to be effective in fostering a love affair and are regarded particularly as being good luck charms for women.

When he enters the house on his second visit he contrives, if possible, to rub some of the semica on the palms of her hands and on her breasts. If the man had succeeded in making any sort of impression on his first visit, the woman is likely to act with more affection toward him on this occasion. She may even go so far as to encourage him by inquiring as to why he had not returned before and expressing interest in his doings. The girl's acceptance of his present is her way of indicating that she reciprocates his affection. All that now remains is for the suitor to make satisfactory purchase arrangements with her father.

There is generally a show of reluctance on the part of the girl's male relative. They

2: Stirling--109-110 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 584

drive as good a bargain as they are able and express a real or feigned dislike of the idea of the girl leaving home. In pressing his plea the suitor usually employs a friend as spokesman and the debate that ensues is somewhat in the nature of a stereotyped ceremony. While the girl's mother theoretically has nothing to say, actually she takes an active part in the argument."

2: Stirling--110-111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"It frequently happens, however, that a wife is purchased without a word being said to her. This is usually the case when an older man acquires a young wife. There are two prime requisites that make a man attractive to a woman, or, for that matter, respected generally in the community. One is that he be a good warrior, and the other that he be a good hunter. The symbol of his ability as a warrior is the number of tsantsas he has made. The symbol of his ability as a hunter are the bones of the tayo birds which he has killed. One bone is taken from each wing and these are worn as ornaments. The tayo frequent a few caves where they are hunted with the aid of torches. Because of the fact that the hunter is likely to encounter a jaguar, it requires a brave man to obtain a large number of these bones. Such items are a considerable asset to a man in gaining the regard of a woman. Desirable traits in a woman are that she be a good worker, have a good disposition, and be free from nagging. [111] When tobacco is blown up a woman's nostrils and she is able to retain it, this is regarded as an omen that she will have strong children."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

2: Stirling--111 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 843

"When a woman becomes pregnant, the husband is much more attentive than usual and performs numerous little services that he would not do ordinarily. If it is her first child she is likely to be nervous, in which case the others in the house attempt to keep her mind off the coming event and distract her interest in various ways. Children are very much desired by both men and women and a barren woman is almost invariably discarded as a wife."

2: Stirling--III[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 844

"When the time for childbirth arrives the woman drinks water with which has been mixed scrapings from the spine of the cashparay. This is supposed to deaden the pain of childbirth. The mother is usually attended by one or two old women. Delivery is from a sitting position, or, if difficulty is experienced, from a half-standing position. As a rule, Jivaro women are very little discommoded by childbirth. At delivery, the umbilical cord is tied in a knot and then cut. Immediately after the delivery the mother goes to the water and washes herself while the old women wash the child. One month after the birth of a child a fiesta is held."

2: Stirling--111 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116. 846

"From the time a child is born until it has begun to walk the father observes a moderate sort of couvade. During this period he abstains from eating the foods from animals or plants containing tsarutama. Such foods have power over the spirit of the child and may wreak harm upon it."

2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow up the girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

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"27. See p. 41."

2: Stirling--112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 524

"Children do not have many formal games which they play but, like children in all parts of the world, they contrive to occupy themselves. There are usually mud banks to slide down and a fine playground in the jungles adjoining the chacras. Most of the games played by the girls consist in playing at making pottery, cooking, or working in the chacras. By playing at these tasks, they learn the duties which they must later perform, and at a very tender age they begin to be of real assistance to their mothers."

2: Stirling--112-113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 764

"The subject of death and burial customs appears not to have been mentioned by the earliest writers on the Jivaro. Plaza, writing in 1853, says:

> They abandon their house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink; it is closed and remains closed, and no one ever returns to live there, which proves, according to them, the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, a judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ihuanchi. (28)

Villavicencio, writing at about the same period, says:

> It is with difficulty that they are persuaded to bury their dead in the churches, since they prefer to bury them in their tambos, for the reason of thus having some guardians to watch over their belongings. They believe that death is not natural, and when someone dies, they attribute it to sorcery sent by some enemy, which is a cause for division among families, and they profess an eternal hatred against the supposed sorcerer. When they do not know to whom to attribute the ill deed they believe, notwithstanding, that it is caused by some hidden enemy. (29)

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"28. Plaza, in Compte, p. 295.
29. Villavicencio, p. 357."

2: Stirling--112-113 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro-2*
116, 764

Vacas Galindo states that the dying person usually indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in nijimanche and food. As to the final disposal of the body, Galindo says:

> They seat the dead person on a kutanga, well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from [113] other souls, human or animal, who will come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many piningas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away. (10)"

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"10. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, pp. 78-79."

2: Stirling--113 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*-1
116, 764

"The Salesian missionary, Father Pancheri, at Gualaquiza, has left a detailed description of the manner in which a prominent *Jivaro* had been buried. Hearing that the body of this individual had been disposed of in the pagan manner and wishing to give his bones a Christian burial, he searched for and found the body in a native sepulchre. The shelter consisted of a well-built house 2 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide. As viewed from the outside, it gave the appearance of an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade overgrown with living plants. The interior, liken small room, was furnished with a seat having a back, on which the corpse had been seated, hands and feet crossed after it had been dressed in its best clothing and personal adornments. A second palisade, erected in the form of a cylinder, surrounded the body so closely that it could not fall over. This palisade was even more solidly constructed than the other and was covered inside and out with large leaves, making it so tight that even mice could not enter. The circular opening at the top of this cylindrical palisade was covered by a thick dish of wood weighted down by a large rock. In the little circular corridor between the first and second barriers a large quantity of food was placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc.; many earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and other liquids were set against the walls.

2: Stirling--113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
Uk. 764

Peschori says:

"We had to break the first palisade with a machete. Here many vases of nijimanche were hung and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambachu were found. (31)"

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"31. Bulletin Salésien. August 1896, p. 178. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 611."

2: Stirling--113-114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764

"The following information was received directly from informants on the Yaupe River. Twenty-four hours after a Jivaro dies his body is placed in a log which has been hollowed out, in a small canoe, or in a box made of split bamboo. All of his hunting and fighting weapons, lance, blowgun, poison kit, etc., are placed with him. When the coffin is made from a log the bark is first peeled off and a space hollowed out in the log of a size sufficient to receive the body. The bark is then replaced and secured in place with pegs and vine wrappings, so as to cover the opening (pl. 25, b). If a canoe is utilized the opening of the canoe is covered with bark and large leaves which are bound in place with vines. When a box of split bamboo is used a cover is made of the same material.

The coffin is then suspended from the ridge pole of the house by means of two vines. An ordinary warrior is suspended horizontally. [114] If the deceased should be a curaka he is suspended in an upright position. The body hangs in this manner without further attention except for mourning by the women for a period of 6 days. On the sixth day, if the dead man be a curaka, nijimanche, meat, fish, manioc, and plantains are placed in vessels on the floor and on that day the house is abandoned, the body remaining suspended from the rafters. Each month for 2 years someone returns to replenish the food supply."

2: Stirling--114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775, 765

"The Jivaros believe that after death they are reborn in various forms of animal life. A warlike curaka becomes a jaguar when he dies and goes to live in the forest near enemy tribes in order that he may continue his vengeance toward them. The explanation of the 2-year period during which the corpse is fed and tended is that it requires 2 years for a jaguar to develop to the point where he can competently shift for himself. When this time has expired the bones are taken down and buried."

2: Stirling--114[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the case of an ordinary warrior the house is not abandoned following the 6-day period after death, but during this time a strongly built small house is erected in the vicinity of the jivaría and the body is placed in it. Here it is fed and attended during the 2-year period in the same manner as described for a curaka."

2: Stirling--114 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"The bodies of women are treated in the same manner as those of ordinary warriors, excepting, of course, that the woman's domestic utensils and implements are placed with her instead of weapons."

2: Stirling--114 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the event of the death of young children the bodies are placed in a small thatched shelter near or in the clearing without any attendant ceremony. It is believed that children under the age of puberty change into small birds."

2: Stirling--114 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775

"When Anguasha was asked if he expected to become a jaguar he said no, that he hoped to be a chicken hawk, because he was very fond of eating chickens and birds."

2: Stirling--114 [6] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 587

"The levirate prevails among the Jivaros. When a man dies the brother who is closest to him has the right to claim his widow. It is not compulsory for him to take her as a wife, although usually he does so. Custom dictates, however, that in the event he does not take her as a wife, she nevertheless lives in his house and becomes a member of his household until someone else marries her. It is not necessarily the oldest brother upon whom these duties fall."

3: Stirling--114-115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 765

"Mourning customs are not very elaborate. During the 6 days following death the women of the house wail and lament and, if the deceased were a married man, his wives cut their hair in the form of a bob. During the time that a corpse is suspended in the house the men generally leave, going into the bush, or visiting some other jivaría, leaving the mourning and the tending of the body [115] to the women. There are evidences of a lasting affection for the dead on the part of close relatives, and mothers sometimes retain keepsakes which they treasure in true sentimental fashion as remembrances of their dead sons."

2: Stirling--115 (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 764, 707, 172

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the *Jivaros* in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the *Jivaro* territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

2: Stirling--117[2] (1930-1931) 1938 *Jivaro*
116, 734, 776

"The practice of shamanism among the *Jivaro* Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the *Jivaros* tsarutama, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsarutama, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

2: Stirling--115[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

2: Stirling--115 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 577

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

2: Stirling--116 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 776

"All of the principal nature gods or culture heroes contain powerful tsarutama. These, as a rule, are personified and are assigned particular dwelling places. Thus, for example, Piribri, the Rain God, lives in the solitudes of the cloud-wrapped mountain peaks. Therefore the mountain itself is charged with his tsarutama. The trail from Mendez to Yaupe crosses Cutucu, and no Jivaro will speak while crossing the summit of the mountain because Piribri likes solitude and silence. If offended by disrespectful invasion of his dwelling place, he causes heavy rains to fall upon the traveler, produces floods in the streams, and makes the way difficult and dangerous. Likewise, Pangi, the great anaconda River God, dwells a captive in the Pongo Manseriche, the great cataract of the Marañon, and the same taboo of silence is observed by the Jivaros in passing through this gorge. Etsa, the sun, and Nantu, the moon, contain powerful tsarutama, which influences all that goes on on earth. The chonta palm, one of the plants mentioned in the sacred origin myth and much used by the Jivaros in making weapons, utensils, and even their houses, also contains tsarutama. The Indians believe that a lance made entirely of chonta wood is more effective in warfare than one which is tipped with iron."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

2; Stirling--117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756

"To illustrate the manner by which a man becomes a shaman and how he performs his many duties, the experiences of Tendetsa, a prominent wishinu of the Yaupi River, are related (pl. 22, b). Tendetsa first determined to become a wishinu through his interest in watching others operate in curing the sick. It so happened that among his relatives there was not one to look after those who became ill and he felt a desire to perform this service.

After making up his mind that he would attempt to become a wishinu, he went to consult Uaatcho, an old wishinu of the Yaupi tribe. A bargain was reached whereby Uaatcho agreed to train Tendetsa. It was necessary for Tendetsa to pay a high price for this course of training. He gave Uaatcho many things, including gifts of food, ornaments, clothing, and other articles of considerable value. The period of training lasted for one month, beginning and ending with the full moon.

The principal function of a wishinu is that of a curing doctor. In order to be able to cure sicknesses he must learn how to gain control of the various spirits which cause different classes of illness. Once in control of these spirits, he likewise has the power to send sickness into people as well as the power of calling it forth, a fact which makes wishinu the most feared and the most respected member of his tribe."

2: Stirling--117-118 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 756

"Sickness is carried on an allegorical blowgun dart called tsensac, which is identified with the thorn, tunchi, of the magical chonta palm. One of these darts exists for each class of illness. This is a widespread belief in northwestern South America. During the process of becoming a wishinu it was necessary that Usatcho give Tendetsa control of each tsensac. The course of instructions took place in the house of the pupil, Tendetsa. Before beginning his instructions, in order to determine his eligibility, he was sent out by Usatcho at night to catch a small type of fish called chumagaie. He was given bait which Usatcho previously rubbed under his armpit and was instructed to throw in the hook with closed eyes, not looking until the fish was caught. He obeyed these instructions and succeeded in catching the fish, which Usatcho then told him to eat. Then Usatcho went into the forest and collected a bunch of leaves called sasango. These, when waved in the air, make a swishing sound and are used for the purpose of calling the spirit desired.

The first day of his initiation Tendetsa fasted, but, with Usatcho, took quantities of piribri (an herb which is chewed and mixed with water, in which form it is taken as a drink which has a narcotic effect). The two men sat facing each other during the entire time. [118] On the second day the same routine was followed excepting that the narcotic mayuci was taken instead of piribri. On the third day the drug was changed to ahinhibri. On the fourth day sango (tobacco) is made into a strong liquid infusion which is snuffed up the nose, each blowing the liquid up the nose of the other in large quantities. On the

2: Stirling--117-118 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 756

fifth day *natima* is taken. During the next 5 days this cycle is repeated, beginning with *piribri* on the sixth day and ending with *natima* on the tenth day. During all of this 10-day period no food whatever is taken. On the close of the tenth day the initiate ate two ripe plantains, mashed and mixed with water, and later he ate two green plantains, roasted or boiled.

At the close of the tenth day, before taking the food they blew into the air calling to Pasuca, the spirit of the blowgun dart. After 10 days of taking quantities of drugs without food they were very light-headed, especially the initiate. They sat waving the sasango leaves and blowing, repeating songs to Pasuca until he appeared finally to them in the form of a bold warrior. When Tendetsa saw him he called out to Uoatcho, who began to massage his body vigorously. During this operation he became unconscious. When he recovered his body was sore from head to foot and he knew then that the spirit of Pasuca had taken possession of him.

During the next 20 days they ate only a few boiled green plantains each day and drank a little carefully strained *nijimanche*. During this period they also ate *cameron*, a small reddish fish. For another month the diet of the last 20 days was followed, excepting that they ate only snails in place of *cameron*. The green plantains and the *nijimanche* were taken as before. During the last 20 days of the first month Tendetsa was instructed in the method of controlling the various spirits of disease which are borne by Pasuca."

J: Stirling--118 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 753

"The first of these spirits [Ed: disease spirits] is [illegible], the spirit of the [illegible], or ray fish. This is the strongest of all of the disease spirits and consequently the most difficult for the wishinu to remove. In order to call [illegible], the [illegible] leaves are waved persistently after the wishinu has taken natema, during which time he calls upon the spirit by name, asking him to come forth. He sings songs addressed to the spirit, meanwhile playing upon the small shaman's drum."

116, 755

"When treating a patient the wishinu at intervals sucks the afflicted part of the patient and if successful in his efforts, which may last for many hours or even days, the spirit will enter the mouth of the wishinu, who then rushes out of the house, gagging and retching while he spits or vomits the spirit out of his own body. After this has been done, with many gesticulations he orders the spirit to leave and not to enter the house again. He makes a complete circuit of the house, pausing at intervals to repeat the performance. As he [119] does this, he is helped out by the people within the house, all of whom are shouting for the spirit to go away. The treatment is always carried on at night and in the darkness, no lights being permitted in the house while the wishinu is operating. The spirit Minura is described as looking like a bearded warrior. Because of the difficulty of calling this spirit, it is necessary for the wishinu to take natema three or four times in order to give him extra power for the purpose.

When the wishinu desires to send Minura into some person in order to give him the sickness he goes alone to the river where the cashpa lives. The spirit is called out by blowing tobacco smoke toward the river and when Minura appears to the wishinu he sends him by means of the blowgun dart teensac into the body of his intended victim. The same songs are sung as are used in calling him out from the body of a patient. Because of the difficulty before mentioned of calling out this powerful spirit, the wishinu charges exceptionally high rates for his treatment, sometimes as much as a gun. If the neophyte

2: Stirling--118-119 (1930-1931) 1931 Jivaro-2
116, 755

shaman does not succeed in producing Minura's appearance during his training he will be unable to do so as a practitioner. The same holds true of all the other spirits."

2, Stirling -119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 842

"The third disease spirit is Yabi. This spirit is described as appearing but rarely. It is said to have no face and is 'like a door.' The wishinu in calling it addresses it as a door, calling upon it to open. Yabi causes barrenness in women. The method of procedure in controlling this spirit is the same in general as the others.

A fourth spirit is Chingi. This spirit is controlled by the toucan (Tsucanga) and by the woodpecker (Tatash). All stomach troubles are caused by Chingi. The beak of the bird pecks at the entrails, thus producing the illness."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

2: Stirling--120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 262

"It is interesting to note that when a wishinu has sent a disease spirit into a man he does not have the power to cure this individual, although a cure might be effected by another wishinu.

After the first month of training, during which the new wishinu has learned control of the spirits, he undergoes a strict diet for another month and thereafter a number of foods are taboo to him. He cannot eat deer, armadillo, peccary, wild pigs, tapir, cholo monkey, manatee, peanuts, chonta fruit, and many other animals, birds, fish and vegetables. The reason for this taboo is that all of these possess tsarutama. Should he eat any of these foods their tsarutama would enter him and neutralize or confuse the particular class of tsarutama that he might be attempting to isolate for his particular purpose."

2: Stirling--120 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"Not all diseases are caused by spiritual invasion. Colds, fever, dysentery, and others are regarded as natural sicknesses in which no spirit is involved. The Jivaros are very much afraid of contagious diseases. Whenever a man develops a cough or symptoms of some contagion the other Indians abandon the house and disappear into the bush, where they will have no contact with him. In the same way, they will avoid all persons who have been in contact with the sick person after he contracted his illness."

2: Stirling--120 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 752

"It is also the duty of the wishinu to treat natural diseases. The remedies used are generally herbs or extracts taken internally or applied externally according to the nature of the trouble. In the case of broken limbs, chicle is put around the injured member as a cast after first setting the bone. Leaves are wrapped around this and wooded splints placed over the leaves and fastened by means of vine wrappings."

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 756, 554

"The wishinu has many duties apart from his function as curing doctor. In fact, while this may be considered the most important of his occupations, it comprises considerably less than half of his duties. When a young man wishes a particular woman to become enamored of him he calls upon the wishinu to prepare a love potion, which requires the mixture of several articles containing the requisite tsarutama and which can be prepared only by the wishinu. He [121] also has control over the great body of nature spirits. He is able, when necessary, to contact Piribri, the rain spirit, in order to produce storms and floods or to stop them as the case may be. In order to call Piribri he blows smoke in the direction of the spirits dwelling place, using the proper songs, much in the same fashion as he calls upon the disease spirits. Likewise, if he wishes to call on Pangi in order to overturn the canoe of some enemy or to control the river in any way, he can do so. All sudden storms or floods are attributed to the activity of some enemy wishinu. The wishinu is also called upon to determine action in many tribal matters; for example, when a curaka dies the wishnu is called upon to take natima in order that it will be revealed to him who the successor should be. The wishinu also plays an important indirect function in the conduct of warfare. If a man dies in his group, he takes natima and by this means determines which rival wishinu sent the fatal illness. This, of course, applies only to death brought about by the disease spirits and not to deaths from natural causes. Occasionally a Jivaro desires to join some tribal unit other than his own. In this case his eligibility is determined by the wishinu of the new group.

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of real political organization among the Jivaros, the wishinu, on account of his ability to control supernatural forces, is the most influential individual of his group. Frequently a wishinu is also a curaka, but this is not typically the case."

2: Stirling--121-122 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 797, 773

"The Jivaros have been subjected to Christian missionary influences since shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of this can be detected here and there throughout their stories. The story of a universal deluge occurs at such an early date, however, that it may be aboriginal in the region.

The myths of the Jivaros, in common with many other culture traits, appear to have formerly been widespread over a large area.

After stating categorically that the Jivaros do not have any religion, Prieto proceeds to disprove it by saying:

> They know that there is a supreme being, giving him the name of *Cumbanama* as God, and at other times the name of *Neche*; but they do not give him any worship or type of adoration. They know that there is a bad spirit, who is the devil, but they say that they like him; they have him always for a friend so that he will be favorable to them in their wars. They believe in the immortality of souls, forming the opinion of transmigration, like some bad philosophies, saying that if the Jivaro who dies has been a man of spirit and courage and one who killed many of his enemies, his soul changes into some brave animal, as a lion, tiger, bear or other of this class; but if the Jivaro who died has been a coward, of little spirit, and has not done any heroic deed, his soul changes into a snake, spider,

toad or some other repugnant [122] animal. Aside from this, they do not worship any deity or adore idols, not do they have any other kind of belief beside the aforementioned.

They are very exact in their traditions, communicating from fathers to sons all the wars, heroic deeds and glorious actions of their grandfathers and forefathers, as can be seen by the circumstantial stories about the lost city of Logroño and of the city of old Zamora. For proof and in order to be sure their traditions are constant, let it be shown by their opinion of the universal flood. They say that a cloud fell from the sky and that it inundated the land with water; that all the animals were killed and that a Jivaro man and woman fled to a big high hill, where they found a cave in which they shut themselves up with all the animals, and the waters having subsided, they all left and began to reproduce and populate the world. They likewise have a tradition confused with the curse that Noah gave to his son Ham. They say that there was a rich man who had some good sons and one very bad one, who separated from the others, cursing the first. All the foreigners and white Christians descend from the good sons and for that reason have the things necessary for passing through life with much ease and an abundance of riches; but the Jivaros descend from the bad son, and for this reason do

2. Stirling--121-122 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 797, 773

not have axes and machetes, suffer innumerable hardships, and have an extremely miserable life. (32)"

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"32. Prieto, in Compte, p. 64."

2: Stirling--122 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 773

"The story of a universal deluge is widespread among the Jivaro, differing considerably in detail in different sections of the territory. Suárez recounts one version, which relates that at the time the deluge took place two brothers escaped by taking refuge on a high mountain which projected above the level of the flood. After the water had dropped they came down in search of living things but were unsuccessful and decided that they had been the only survivors. On their return to their refuge they were greatly surprised to find some dishes of food placed in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to solve this mystery one of the brothers concealed himself and saw two parrots enter the hut in the form of women who prepared the meal. Jumping from his hiding place, he seized one of the birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys and three girls were born who were the ancestors of the Jivaro people. (33)"

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"33. González Suárez, 1904, p. 28."

"In the early part of the seventeenth century Saabedra gives a legend from the Mainas near Lake Rimachuma which is reminiscent of the above.

Von Hassel gives the following creation myth from the Muratos:

> The creator amused himself by making pottery objects. He constructed a large blue vase and placed it at the height where the sky is found, thus creating the universe. A Murato had been fishing in a lake near the Pastaza when a small crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisherman killed him. The crocodile's mother was enraged and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. Everyone drowned excepting one individual, who climbed up a chonta palm tree, where he stayed for many days in the midst of continuous darkness. From time to time, he dropped one of the seeds of the tree but always heard the splash [123] in the water. Finally one day the thud of the seed falling on dry ground rewarded his ears. He descended the tree, constructed himself a house, prepared a field for cultivation, and, cutting a piece of flesh from his own body, he placed it on the ground and made a woman who became his wife.
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> At the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a huge jaguar. One Murato more intelligent and courageous than his fellows attacked the animal and killed it,

giving freedom to his fellow creatures. The occupants of the cave prepared to leave but, as they were very dirty, they warmed water in a large jar in order to wash themselves. The first to wash, while the water was clean, became white men; those who followed, after the water had become dirty, are the Indians; those who were last of all are the negroes.(34)"

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"34. Von Hassel, 1905, pp. 68-70."

2: Stirling--123 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 773, 537

"At the present time the Jivaros recognize a distinction between the sacred origin myth which they term Nuhiño and the many disconnected legends and tales which are not sacred in character. Most of the Indians interviewed by the writer professed ignorance of the origin myth, although they knew of its existence and mentioned two or three old men whom they stated would probably know it. After a considerable search, one of these men was located, Anguasha, on the Yaupe River, who recounted the tale.

The story was told dramatically with much gesturing, pantomime, and voice modulation, and with the display of considerable emotion. Anguasha stated that it had been many years since he had occasion to call the story to mind and he had to correct himself many times as it gradually came back under the spell of the candlelight and his own oratory. Frequently he paused to say that he wished Hisama were with him so that they might discuss certain points together, because he was not always sure of the proper continuity. A number of times he corrected himself on a previous statement, seeming very anxious that the details should be correct as well as he could remember them. Finally he announced that it gave him a pain in his heart, reminding him of older and more virile days, and requested that he might tell the rest alone with his old friend, Santiago, the interpreter, and with unlimited quantities of nijimanche to loosen his memory and his tongue. In its proper and complete form he said the story is much longer, all of the principal characters having many more adventures than the ones here recounted, but that the story as told gives the principal outline of the significant events of the myth.

2: Stirling--123 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 773, 537

It seems strange that a myth of this nature should become forgotten while the general culture of the Jivaros has changed so little, but Anguasha lamented and the other Indians agreed that, with the death of himself and one or two others, the sacred Nuhiño [KS: for text of myth see category 539--pp. 124-129] would be gone forever. Most of the Jivaro myths that have been recorded appear to be disconnected fragments which were once a part of this connected account."

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 539

# "THE NUHIÑO OR 'EARTH STORY' OF THE JIVAROS

In the beginning there were two parents, Kumpara, (35) the Creator, and Chingaso, his wife. They had a son, Etsa, the Sun. One day when Etsa was sleeping, Kumpara took a piece of mud and, placing it in his mouth, blew it on Etsa, with the result that it became a daughter, Nantu, the Moon. Nantu was created in this fashion in order that Etsa might make her his wife, which he could not do were she a blood sister.

There was a bird, Auhu, (36) the goatsucker, who was active only in the nighttime. When the Moon appeared he became enamored of her and attempted to have an affair but his advances were not received by Nantu.

After a time Etsa likewise became enamored of Nantu, having a strong desire to have children. Although he paid ardent court to her, Nantu was coy and kept away from him. One day Etsa was painting his face with achiote to make himself attractive and, while he was doing so, Nantu took advantage of his preoccupation and disappeared by shooting up to the sky. Nantu, upon arriving at the sky, painted herself black with sua (witau) so that her body would become the night. She also painted her face, these being the markings on the surface of the Moon. Then Nantu followed a steep trail upward, climbing and climbing like a jaguar over the curving vault of the sky.

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"35. Doubtless a corruption of 'Compadre.'

36. Also called Aishiru."

Auhu, seeing his loved one climbing thus above him and sensing that Nantu was escaping from Etsa, decided to try his luck again at courting. There was a vine hanging down from the sky and Auhu began to climb this in order to reach the object of his desire. Nantu, seeing him, cut the vine, which fell and became entangled in all the trees of the jungle where one may see it now. Auhu, foiled in his pursuit, fell with it, and once more sulked among his trees.

Now when Etsa discovered that Nantu had eluded him, he was very angry and immediately decided to go in pursuit. At first he knew no means of reaching her, but finally he caught two parrots, Awamasa, and two parakeets. On each wrist he fastened a parrot and on each knee a parakeet, saying to them: 'Let us look for Nantu.' The birds flew upward with him, carrying him to the sky, where he finally caught up with Nantu and a violent quarrel ensued. During the altercation Etsa became more and more angry and struck Nantu. When this happens the Sun eclipses the Moon [sic]. Nantu retaliated and struck Etsa; this is the Moon eclipsing the Sun. As a result of this exchange of blows, Nantu was subdued and began to cry, Etsa saying: 'Now you see how much bigger and stronger I am [125] than you and all you can do is weep.' Now whenever the face of the Moon is red it is an indication that it is going to rain.

Following this quarrel, Nantu went off by herself to prove that she could produce a son unaided. She gathered some dirt and, blowing upon it, created a son, which she called Nuhi. Being lonely, she devoted her affection to this son. Auhu, seeing this, became

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 539

jealous and, approaching stealthily, broke this son, modeled of clay, and Nuhi died, becoming the earth.

Nantu, lonely and now thoroughly subdued, received the advances of Etsa. They were married on the River Kanusa. Here a son was born to them, Unushi, the sloth, who was the first Jivaro. Being so old, he now moves very slowly. The waning Moon indicates the period of pregnancy; it wanes as it gives birth. The mating of the Sun and the Moon takes place on earth when they have both descended from the sky. The earth was used as a place for Unushi and his descendants to live and also as a mating place for Etsa and Nantu. Unushi was put into the forest, which was to be his home henceforth.

Nantu and Etsa then constructed a canoe of caoba wood and in it went out into the river where a second son was born. This was Apupa, the manatee. He was immediately placed in the water and told hereafter he was to live in the river and that whenever Unushi should encounter danger on the water he was to come to his assistance.

Following this, a third son was born to them in the mountains. This was Huangañi, the peccary. He was born during a tempest to the accompaniment of rain and thunder, for which reason the peccaries always move about during storms, following the rain as the storm moves along; a fact of which the Jivaros take advantage in hunting.

Shortly after this, Etsa and Nantu were in an open space in the forest when a daughter was born. This was Nijamanche, the manioc plant. She was destined to be for all time the friend and intimate companion of the Jivaros.

Some time elapsed and no more children were born to Etsa and Nantu. Then it was that Chingaso gave them two eggs which they were told to place on a sand bar by the side of the river. This they did, but upon returning next day found that the two eggs had disappeared. While they were puzzling over this fact, Tingishapi, the cricket, came out of the ground and tried to speak to them. He was so small that they did not notice him, so to attract attention to himself he bit them on the feet. They picked him up and said: 'Who are you?' The cricket replied: 'I am Tingishapi. I am one of your family. I have come to tell you that Untujo, the egret, has flown away with the two eggs which you left here.' Etsa immediately set [126] out in pursuit of Untujo and finally caught up with him. Untujo, when caught, dropped one of the eggs, which fell and was broken. The other one Etsa recovered and returned to Nantu.

Remembering how they had almost missed seeing Tingishapi, Etsa instructed him not to move around during the daytime because then many people would be walking about and he would likely get stepped on. He was told that he should henceforth, live in the houses of the Jivaros as a guardian. All of this transpired. However, in addition to the desire to guard the house, when night comes on he feels the desire to bite something so that he eats the clothes of the Jivaros.

The egg which had been recovered from Untujo was the color of the sun and, tending it carefully, they produced from it a woman, Mika. (37) Then they brought Mika to the River Kanusa, where Uñushi was sleeping, in order that Mika could become his wife. (38)

They were married and then instructed by Etsa and Nantu as to what their respective duties should be as man and wife. Uñushi was to do the clearing of the forest where their home was to be built and was to build the house in which they were to live, after being told the manner in which it was to be constructed. Mika was to attend to the planting and care of the manioc, to the preparation of food, and to general household duties. It developed, however, that Uñushi was very lazy by nature, with the result that most of the disagreeable work was passed on to Mika, so that now the biggest share of Jivaro work is done by the women. After establishing their household, Uñushi and Mika got into a canoe and started to go down the river. During the voyage, a son was born in the canoe. This was Ahimbi, the water serpent.

After the birth of Mika, Chingaso gave many eggs to Nantu from which were produced the birds and animals inhabiting the forests and mountains; these were to be the friends of the Jivaros and were to furnish them with food.

Now, however, Uñushi and Mika were away from their home terrritory and they needed food. At this juncture two little birds flew to the canoe, calling to them to follow, so

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"37. Mika is the name of the red bowls in which chicha is stored and served.

38. Here again it is interesting to note that Mika is produced from an egg, apparently in order to prevent an incestuous marriage."

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-6
116, 539

they left the canoe and went ashore. The two birds preceded them, entering a hollow tree, which immediately was transformed into the chonta palm, laden with ripe fruit. Gathering the fruit, they cooked it and, after satisfying their hunger, they returned to the beach where they had left their canoe. There was a surging of waters and out of the river came Pangi, and anaconda. Crawling onto the gravel bar, he broke with his tail a large rock from which he fashioned a stone axe for [127] them, showing them the method of its fabrication. With this, Ahimbi cut down a tree, Awamo (the cedro), and from it fashioned a canoe. He was of an adventurous disposition and wanted to shift for himself and see the world. Getting into his canoe, he left his parents and set out on a long trip.

Far down the river he met a white man, Apachi, who was traveling in an iron canoe. He showed Ahimbi iron and various mechanical contrivances, saying: 'These are my things. You don't know them so I will show them to you.' In order to show Ahimbi, Apachi constructed a large boat of iron, saying: 'Now you know what these things are, but they are not for you. On the water you are to use canoes and balsas.' Saying which, Apachi left. During a long period of time Ahimbi traveled and had many adventures, but finally decided to return to his parents.

On his way back, in the evening, he encountered Mika traveling alone. He asked her the whereabouts of Uñushi. Mika replied that she did not know; she had not seen him for some time, because he had wandered off and become lost in the forest.

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-7
116, 539

When night came on Ahimbi told his mother that he would like to sleep with her. This he did but overslept in the morning, so that when Etsa came at dawn he was still with Mika. Etsa was angry and awoke them, grasping them both by the hair, saying: 'Why are you two together this way?' Ahimbi replied: 'We are doing nothing; it has been a long time sinceI have seen my mother. I am so pleased to be with her again that I merely wanted to be close to her.' Not deceived by this tale, Etsa ordered them to leave immediately.

They went away together, after which several children were born to them as they wandered looking for a place to reestablish themselves, but all of the birds and animals who had previously fed them were so much offended by this unnatural union that they refused their help. When they wished to sleep in the cave of Yumbingi, the jaguar, their former friend drove them out and has been an enemy of man ever since.

Finally, Uñushi learned what had happened and, much enraged, brooded upon the idea of taking revenge. When Nantu came down to visit her offspring, Uñushi accused her of having consented with Etsa that Mika should go away with a man other than her husband and have children by him. Refusing to listen to her denial, and being much enraged, he fell upon her with his chonta lance and beat her violently, finally throwing her into a hole and covering her over with earth.

It so happened that the dove witnessed this episode and told Auhu what had happened. He also told him to put on fine beetle-wing ear ornaments and to paint his face beautifully with achiote; then to [128] go to the river where he would find a large land snail. This Auhu did, and still following the instructions of the dove, made a trumpet of the snail shell. With this, he entered the hollow trunk of a fallen chonta palm where he blew upon the snail-shell trumpet. At this call, Nantu very suddenly burst out of the hole where she had been buried, passing through the hollow chonta palm, knocking Auhu violently out of it, and heading straight for the sky again. (39) Auhu cried: 'Come back! Come back!' in his most entreating tones, but Nantu was so anxious to return to her place in the sky that she did not even look back, let alone pause to thank Auhu for enabling her to escape. Thus once more, having had an opportunity to gain the favor of his loved one and again having had his hopes dashed to earth, Auhu resumed his melancholy condition. For this reason he sings only on moonlit nights his mournful cry, 'Aishiru, Aishiru', meaning 'Beloved.'

When Nantu had made good her escape she told what had transpired. The sons of Mika and Ahimbi, hearing the tale, immediately sought out Uñushi and cut off his head, making a tsantsa of it.

When Mika found out what had happened she beat her sons born of Ahimbi and killed

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"39. In relating this episode the Jivaro have in mind the action of a dart going through a blowgun."

them, saying that they had killed her husband. After this had taken place Ahimbi fought with Mika because she had killed his sons. (40) They fought so violently that a great tempest was brought about. Huge black clouds came up, rolled along by a terrific wind; torrential rains descended with great fury; lightning flashed and terrific peals of thunder reechoed through the sky.

At the height of the hurricane there came a tremendous clap of thunder and out of the blackest cloud there flashed to earth a mighty bolt of lightning which struck the ground and at the spot there leaped up immediately a powerful Jivaro armed with lance and shield. This was Masata, the embodiment of war.

He viewed the fighting with great enthusiasm, enjoying it so much that when he saw signs of the struggle slackening, he encouraged both sides, going among the many children of Ahimbi, Uñushi, and Mika, urging them to fight one another and assuring each faction that they were in the right. So successful was his propaganda that they all separated into their various factions, this being the origin of the different Jivaro groups.

After this split had been completed Masata visited each group, secretly telling each that they were right and that those who possessed any manhood would go out and kill their enemies, and that he who killed the most would become powerful and would be a great Curaka. [129] Some were partisans of Mika, some of Ahimbi, and some of Uñushi. 'Go

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"40. This sequence of events is the origin of the custom of blood revenge."

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-10
116, 539

out and avenge yourselves and you will become a strong Curaka', said Masata. This was the beginning of war.

When Etsa and Nantu looked down and saw the turmoil that had been created they were much displeased. They descended to earth and sought out Ahimbi, accusing him of being responsible for all of the trouble because of his conduct with Mika. Seizing him, they brought him to the Pongo Manseriche. Here Etsa took the trunk of a hollow chonta palm and thrust Ahimbi in it. Then Etsa, blowing upon the chonta tube after the fashion of a blowgun, turned it slowly while so doing. As he did so, Ahimbi slowly came forth from the other end in the form of Pangi, the boa. After he had emerged completely from the chonta log, Etsa bound him up and placed him under the waters of the Pongo Manseriche. The boiling, turbulent waters of this narrow gorge are brought about by Ahimbi's titanic efforts to free himself from his bonds.

After this punishment had befallen him Ahimbi desired that his sons should have peace, so he thrashed his tail and sprayed water into the air, forming the rainbow, as a sign to Etsa to be compassionate and release his bonds in order that he might restore peace among the warring factions. Masata, however, saw the rainbow and ingeniously placed clouds and rain in the way so that Ahimbi's signal would not be seen by Etsa, and thus bring about an end to the fighting. Whenever Ahimbi attempts his signal, he has always been thwarted thus far by Masata, who has obscured his rainbow with rain and mists.

2: Stirling--124-129 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-II
116, 539

Having successfully prevented this threat of peace, Masata once more started visiting each of the tribes, hurling out his slogan, 'Make war! Make war!' Chingaso, however, feeling sorry for the plight of Ahimbi and desiring to see peace brought about, went down to the Pongo Manseriche in a canoe with the intention of releasing him. Ahimbi, however, thrashing about in his rage, did not recognize her. He overturned her canoe and ate her, thus ending his best opportunity for freedom.

Thus ends the Nuhiño of the Jivaros."